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**QUEBEC:**  
**AS IT WAS, AND AS IT IS,**  
**OR,**  
**A BRIEF HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**THE OLDEST CITY IN CANADA,**  
**FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE PRESENT TIME,**  
**WITH**  
**A GUIDE FOR STRANGERS,**  
**TO THE**  
**DIFFERENT PLACES OF INTEREST WITHIN THE CITY,**  
**AND ADJACENT THERETO.**

—  
**THIRD EDITION.**

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**BY**  
**WILLIS RUSSELL.**

**(RUSSELL'S HOTEL.)**  
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**QUEBEC:**  
**AS IT WAS, AND AS IT IS.**

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## PREFACE.

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The compiler of this little work offers no apology for its publication. He believes, or rather, he knows that it is wanted, and that the residents as well as the visitors who are attracted to Quebec by its historic fame and its unequalled scenery, will find it well worth a perusal. Quebec is no ordinary or common-place city, for though like other large communities it carries on trade, commerce and manufactures; cultivates arts, science and literature; abounds in charities, and professes special regard to the amenities of social life, it claims particular attention as being a strikingly unique old place, the strong-hold of Canada, and, in fact, the key of the Province. Viewed from any one of its approaches, it impresses the stranger with the conviction of strength and permanency. The reader of American history on entering its gates, or wandering over its squares, ramparts and battle-fields, puts himself at once in communion with the illustrious dead. The achievements of daring mariners, the labours of self-sacrificing missionaries of the cross, and the conflicts of military heroes who bled and died in the assault and defence of its walls, are here re-read with ten-fold interest. Then the lover of nature in her grandest and most rugged, as in her gentle and most smiling forms, will find in and around it an affluence of sublime and beautiful objects. The man of science too may be equally

gratified, for here the great forces of nature and her secret alchymy may be studied with advantage. Quebec can never be a tame or insipid place, and with moderate opportunities for advancement, it must become one of the greatest cities of the new world in respect of learning, arts, commerce and manufactures. That it is fast, though perhaps noiselessly, progressing towards industrial greatness, no one who looks at the continually increasing number of tall chimneys towering above the surrounding houses in the suburbs will doubt, and the time cannot be far distant when it will move in this direction with greatly accelerated steps.

The book, though not without interest to residents, is chiefly designed for visitors, who, through its pages, will be directed to the most remarkable objects in the city and its environs. It has been too much the custom with travellers seeking for instructive, pleasurable and healthful recreation, to hurry through this old Cabinet of Curiosities in one or two days, when, in fact, they have hardly commenced to appreciate its contents, and, therefore, if by putting this little book in their hands they are induced hereafter to give it a more interested attention, the compiler will be abundantly rewarded for his labour of love.

No special credit is claimed in the way of originality or arrangement of material, the author having freely availed himself of the works of previous writers, but he trusts that the contents will be found to be both pertinent and accurate.

RUSSELL'S HOTEL, *Quebec, May, 1860.*

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# QUEBEC; AS IT WAS, AND AS IT IS.

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## Chapter I.

Former extent of British Dominion in America—Growth of Canada and United States—Effect of the Conquest of 1759—Discovery of the St. Lawrence by Cartier—Foundation of Quebec—Progress of the Colony—Champlain surrenders Canada to the English—The Country, looked upon as worthless, returned to France—Seminary and Convent established at Quebec—Massacre at Sillery—First Bishop—Sir Hovenden Walker's fleet lost in the St. Lawrence—Population of Quebec—Visit of Professor Kalm—Appearances of Quebec and neighbourhood in 1749—Present condition of the Fortifications—Former and present appearances of the Harbour—Interior of a Convent—Reception of a new Governor in 1749—Dog Carts—Shipbuilding—The Habitants—The Ladies of Quebec—And what is to follow.

A city more famous in the annals of history, or more picturesquely situated than Quebec, scarcely anywhere exists. Long the seat of French power in America it passed, in 1759, altogether into the hands of the English, and with it all Canada, so that for a while, Great Britain held dominion over that vast extent of territory, from the mouth to the head waters of the St. Lawrence, and from the source of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico,—which already the Jesuit-Fathers had studded with Churches, and French Commanders had, if not wisely governed, at least judiciously fortified,—and over all that land which the pious zeal of the Pifgrim Fathers had settled and improved, Dutch.



adventurers had reclaimed from a wilderness, the London or South Virginia Company had colonized, or which had been simply granted to some pet lord of a rather privileged king, as a proprietary government—a totality of empire in North America from Hudson's Bay to the mouths of the Mississippi. A few years, however, after this event, the old English Colonies of America obtained an independent existence, and only Canada, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia remained to Great Britain, asylums for United Empire loyalists, and the cherished home of those whose peculiar institutions the British people had consented to protect and maintain. Since then, Canada has rapidly advanced in wealth and population, and Quebec has grown with the Province to great importance as a military position, and as a seaport and place of business.

The comparative growth of Canada and the United States, since the former has been a Province of Great Britain and the latter a nation, may be gathered from the fact that immediately preceding that event, or in 1753, the English Colonies of New England, Connecticut, New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, contained with the 5,000 English inhabitants of Nova Scotia, 1,051,000, while the French Colonies of Canada and Louisiana contained only 52,000 people, 7,000 of whom were inhabitants of the latter. Immediately after the conquest of Canada, and especially after the independence of the old English Colonies, the growth and advancement of the latter, compared with the

progress in Canada was very great. The conquest deprived Lower Canada of an accession of new people from Europe. It was a country inhabited by Frenchmen, under the protectorate of Great Britain, and besides the military, such Englishmen as resided at Quebec, Montreal, or Three Rivers, were only factors for the Liverpool or London merchants, and bore no closer relationship to the colonist than the English resident at Canton does to the Chinese. The thirteen United States on the other hand had all become not personal proprietaries as Pennsylvania and Maryland were, not the property of personal proprietors, with the government and jurisdiction in the Crown, as in the Carolinas and Jerseys formerly, not plantations the property and government of which rested with the Crown as in Virginia, New York, and New Hampshire, not a property in the people and their representatives, the government being with the Crown as in Massachusetts' Bay; but the property and government in the freemen of the colony as it was in Rhode Island and Connecticut. They had secured to themselves in 1783, that which Canada only obtained in 1840, and saw perfected, with some trifling exception, in 1853, a government wholly responsible to the people, and thereby a credit in the London Money Market, affording the ability of making roads and canals, improving rivers and harbours, and of bringing, by artificial means, places, when unimproved, a far way off, in close proximity to each other.

It is impossible either for an Englishman or an American not to feel an interest in Quebec, long

the chief, and yet the most notable and curious city in Canada.

The site of the city was first visited by Jacques Cartier, the celebrated navigator of St. Malo, in France, who in 1535 being in search of a north-west passage to China, entered the St. Lawrence, and made his way to Stadacona, a mere collection of Indian Huts upon the River St. Charles, below, and to the northward of the promontory on which Quebec now stands. Quebec was founded by Champlain in 1608, the agent of a Company of Merchants, who had determined upon making settlements in Canada. On the 3rd July in that year, Champlain selected the base of the promontory of Cape Diamond as the site of a town; erected huts for shelter; established a magazine for stores and provisions; and formed barracks for the soldiery, not on the highest point of the head-land, but nearly on the site of the recently destroyed Parliament buildings. Having afterwards surveyed the Lake which bears his name, Champlain returned to France to obtain more money and more men, and found a partner in the person of the Count de Soisson, who had been appointed Governor of the new country. De Soisson, however, soon after receiving his appointment died, and the Viceroyalty of Canada was conferred upon the Prince de Condé, through whose influence Champlain was again enabled to sail for Canada, with some Roman Catholic Missionaries, who, on their arrival, set themselves vigorously to the work of christianizing the heathen. Indeed, churches were soon established from the head waters of the

Saguenay to Lake Nepissim. In 1621, the first European was born at Quebec, now a fortified town; and there were more than fifty Europeans in New France! Six years later, eighteen Huguenots or French protestants were brought to Quebec by De Caen; but Cardinal Richelieu immediately afterwards established the "Hundred Associates," not only to colonize New France, but amply to supply the colonists with necessities, to send out a large number of clergymen, to be supported by the Associates for fifteen years, and to have glebes or reserved lands assigned to them for sufficient future support. This latter plan of settlement was, however, roughly interfered with by the declaration by England of war against France in 1628, when Sir David Kerk proceeded to the St. Lawrence, burned the Village of Tadousac, and obtained from Champlain the surrender of the Fort of Quebec, carrying with him to England all the European inhabitants of Canada. In 1631, Champlain was re-appointed Governor of Canada, the country being considered worthless by the people of England; and colonization was systematically undertaken by the Jesuits. After the death of Champlain, which occurred in 1635, the Seminary was founded at Quebec, and the Ursuline Nunnery established through the instrumentality of the Duchess d'Aiguillon. Next year a very melancholy affair occurred at Sillery, which is situated about four miles above Quebec, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence. Four hundred Huron families, men, women, and children, were massacred by the Iroquois, during service in the church. The French were

at this period literally confined to Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal; but, nevertheless, made considerable progress. In 1659, the Bishop of Petrea arrived at Quebec, to preside over the Catholic Church, and was appointed to the See of Quebec, by Pope Clement X, in 1664. François de Laval united the Seminary of Quebec with that of Du Bac, in Paris, in 1796, and did his best for the spread of education, and not a little for the extension of religion, by obtaining four hundred additional soldiers from France for the Garrison of Quebec, to keep the natives in order. Soon after these events, a rather fabulous earthquake occurred, which filled Quebec with terror, and which is carefully narrated by Charlevoix; and two years after that occurrence, a Monsieur Jolliet accompanied the Révérend Père Marquette to the Mississippi, the mouth of which river La Salle afterwards discovered. In 1710, New England, being plagued by the Canadians, who allowed their Indians to perpetrate unheard of atrocities, resolved to defend herself, and asked Queen Anne for assistance. It was intended to send an expedition from Boston to attack Quebec. Sir Hovenden Walker, accordingly, sailed for Boston, and there being manned and provisioned by the colonists, sailed for the St. Lawrence, where the fleet was nearly wholly destroyed. About midnight, on the 22nd of August, a part of the fleet was driven among islands and rocks on the north shore, eight or nine transports were cast away, and nearly 1,000 soldiers were drowned, the consequence being that the intended attack upon Quebec was abandoned. Quebec had



now 7,000 inhabitants, and the banks below the city were laid out in seigniories, the farms being tolerably well cultivated.

Professor Kalm, of Aobo, in Swedish Finland, visited Quebec, in August, 1749, and gives a very interesting account of the then condition and appearance of the town and its surroundings. Speaking of the St. Lawrence, he says:—"The river has always been a very good defence for the country. An enemy, and one that is not acquainted with it, cannot go upwards, without being ruined; for in the neighbourhood of *Quebec*, IT ABOUNDS WITH HIDDEN ROCKS, and has strong currents in some places, which oblige the ships to make many windings." And after alluding to the supposed origin of the name "Quebec," from the Norman "Quel-bec?" what a promontory or beak, or from the Indian word *Quebego*—How narrow? expressive of the sudden narrowness of the river, Professor Kalm says: "The prospect near Quebec is very lively from the river. The town lies very high, and all the churches, and other buildings appear very conspicuous. The ships in the river below ornament the landscape on that side. The powder magazine, which stands on the summit of the mountain, on which the town is built, towers above all the other buildings.

"The country we passed by afforded a no less charming sight. The river St. Lawrence flows nearly from south to north here; on both sides of it are cultivated fields, but more on the west side than on the east side. The hills on both shores are steep and high. A number of fine hills separated from each other, large fields, which looked

"quite white from the corn with which they are covered, and excellent woods of deciduous trees made the country around look very pleasant. Now and then we saw a church of stone, and in several places brooks fell from the hills into the rivers. Where the brooks are considerable, there they have made saw mills and water mills.

"After rowing for the space of a French mile and a half, we came to the Isle of Orleans, which is a large island, near seven French miles and a half long, and almost two of those miles broad, in the widest part. It lies in the middle of the river St. Lawrence, is very high, has steep and very woody shores. There are some places without trees, which have farm houses below, quite close to the shore. The isle itself is well cultivated, and within but five houses of stone, large cornfields, meadows, pastures, woods of deciduous trees, and some churches, built of stone, are to be seen on it."

Mr. Kalm visits Bay St. Paul, and with the eye of science examines the earth. He conjectures that all the flat ground at Bay St. Paul was formerly the bottom of a river, as a great part of the plants which are to be met with, are marine, such as glass wort, sea-milk wort, and seaside pease; but when he asked the inhabitants whether they found shells in the ground by digging for wells, they always answered in the negative. He received the same answer from those who lived in the low fields, directly north of Quebec. Now, the worthy and learned professor had been ill-informed, as from the Montmorency to nearly the source of the St. Charles, there is now to be seen layer upon layer of such

shells, to the great astonishment of every stranger at all geologically interested either by study or by profession. At Mount Lilac, in Beauport, and at Marl Farm, in Lorette, marine shells are obtainable in cartloads.

Kalm more particularly describes the town of Quebec thus:—The chief city of Canada lies on the western shore of the river St. Lawrence, close to the water's edge, on a neck of land bounded by that river on the east side, and by the river St. Charles on the north side; the mountain on which the town is built, rises still higher on the south side, and behind it begin great pastures; and the mountain likewise extends a good way westward. The city is distinguished into the Lower and the Upper. The lower lies on the river eastward of the upper. The neck of land, mentioned before, was formed by the dirt and filth, which had from time to time been accumulated there, and by a rock which lay that way, not by any gradual diminution of the water. The upper city lies above the other on a high hill, and takes up five or six times the space of the lower, though it is not quite so populous. The mountain on which the upper city is situated, reaches above the houses of the lower city. Notwithstanding, the latter are three or four stories high, and the view, from the palace, of the lower city, (part of which is immediately under it,) is enough to cause a swimming of the head. There is only one easy way of getting to the upper city, and there part of the mountain has been blown up. The road is very steep, notwithstanding it is winding and serpentine. However,

they go up and down it in carriages and with wag-gons. All the other roads up the mountain are so steep that it is very difficult to climb to the top of them. Most of the merchants live in the lower city, where the houses are built very close together. The streets in it are narrow, very rugged, and almost always wet. There is likewise a church and a small market-place. The upper city is inhabited by people of quality, by several persons belonging to the different officers, by tradesmen, and others. In this part are the chief buildings of the town, among which the following are worthy of particular notice.

I. The PALACE is situated on the west or steepest side of the mountain, just above the lower city.

It is not properly a palace, but a large building of stone, two stories high, extending north and south. On the west side of it is a courtyard, surrounded partly with a wall and partly with houses. On the east side, or towards the river, is a gallery as long as the whole building, and about two fathoms broad, paved with smooth flags, and included on the outsides by iron rails, from whence the city and the river exhibit a charming prospect. The gallery serves as a very agreeable walk after dinner, and those who come to speak with the Governor General wait here till he is at leisure. The palace is the lodging of the Governor General of Canada, and a number of soldiers mount the guard before it, both at the gate and in the courtyard; and when the Governor, or the Bishop, comes in or goes out, they must all appear in arms, and beat the drum. The Governor General has

his own chapel where he hears prayers ; however, he often goes to mass at the church of the *Recolets*, (a kind of Franciscan Friars, called *Ordo Sti. Francisci strictioris observantia*,) which is very near the palace.

II. The CHURCHES in this town are seven or eight in number, and all built of stone.

The Cathedral Church is on the right hand, coming from the lower to the upper city, somewhat beyond the Bishop's house. The people are at present employed in ornamenting it. On its next side is a round steeple, with two divisions, in the lower of which are some bells. The pulpit and some other parts within the church are gilt. The seats are very fine.

The JESUITS' Church is built in the form of a cross, and has a round steeple. This is the only church that has a clock, and I shall mention it more particularly below.

The RECOLETS' Church is opposite the Gate of the Palace, on the west side, looks well, and has a pretty high pointed steeple, with a division below for the bells.

The Church of the URSULINES has a round spire.

The Church of the Hospital.

The Bishop's Chapel.

The Church in the Lower City was built in 1690, after the town had been delivered from the English, and is called *Notre Dame de la Victoire*. It has a small steeple in the middle of the roof, square at the bottom, and rounded at the top.

The little chapel of the Governor General may likewise be ranked among the churches.



III. The Bishop's house is the first, on the right hand, coming from the Lower to the Upper Town. It is a fine large building, surrounded by an extensive courtyard and kitchen-garden on one side, and by a wall on the other.

IV. The College of the Jesuits, which I will describe more particularly. It has a much more noble appearance, in regard to its size and architecture, than the palace itself, and would be proper for a palace if it had a more advantageous situation. It is about four times as large as the palace, and is the finest building in the town. It stands on the north side of a Market, on the south side of which is the Cathedral.

V. The House of the RECOLETS lies to the west, near the palace and directly over against it, and consists of a spacious building, with a long orchard, and kitchen-garden. The house is two stories high. In each story is a narrow gallery with rooms and halls on one, or both sides.

VI. The HOTEL-DIEU, where the sick are taken care of, shall be described in the sequel. The nuns that serve the sick, are of the Augustine Order.

VII. The house of the Clergy, *Le Séminaire*, is a large building, on the north-east side of the Cathedral. Here is on one side a spacious court, and on the other, towards the river a great orchard, and kitchen-garden. Of all the buildings in the town, none has so fine a prospect as that in the garden belonging to this house, which lies on the high shore and looks a good way down the river. The Jesuits, on the other hand, have the worst, and hardly any

prospect at all from their college; nor have the Recolets any fine view from their house. In this building all the clergy of Quebec lodge with their Superior. They have large pieces of land in several parts of Canada, presented to them by the Government, from which they derive a plentiful income.

VIII. The Convent of the **URSULINE NUNS** shall be mentioned in the sequel.

These are all the chief buildings in the town, but to the northwest, just before the town, is:

IX. The house of the **INTENDANT**, a public building, whose size makes it fit for a palace. It is covered with tin, and stands in a second lower town, situated southward upon the River St. Charles. It has a large and fine garden on its north side (now the Government wood-yard). In this house all the deliberations concerning the Province are held; and the gentlemen who have the management of the Police and the civil power, meet here, and the Intendant generally presides. In affairs of great consequence, the Governor General is likewise here. On one side of this house is the store-house of the Crown, and on the other the prison.

With the exception of the Bishop's palace to the right of Prescott Gate, and on which the ruins of the Parliament buildings, built in 1852, and destroyed by fire in the spring of 1854, now stand; the house of the Intendant, the remains of which were swept over by the great fire of 1845, which destroyed the whole of the suburb of St. Roch; the Church and residence of the Recolets, on the ruins of which stand the present Cathedral of the Church of England and the Court House; and the

palace of the Governor General or Chateau St. Louis, destroyed by fire on the 23rd January, 1834, when occupied by the Governor in Chief, General Lord Aylmer, all the churches, chapels, and public buildings, so minutely described by Professor Kalm, are still extant, and, with the exception of the Jesuits' College now occupied as a barracks by the Queen's troops, still devoted to the purposes for which before the conquest they were intended.

It is interesting to know how Quebec, in other respects, appeared a hundred and seven years ago, and Professor Kalm tells us.

"Most of the houses, he says, are built of stone, and in the upper city, they are generally but one story high, the public buildings excepted. I saw a few wooden houses in the town, but they must not be rebuilt, when decayed. The houses and churches in the city are not built of bricks, but of the black lime slates of which the mountain consists, whereon Quebec stands.

"When these lime slates are broken at a good depth in the mountain, they look very compact at first, and appear to have no shivers, or *lamellæ*, at all, but after being exposed a while to the air, they separate into thin leaves. These slates are soft, and easily cut; and the city walls, together with the garden walls, consist chiefly of them. The roofs of the public buildings are covered with common slates, which are brought from France, because there are none in Canada, (a mistake by the way, as has since been discovered.)

"The slated roofs, have for years withstood the changes of air and weather, without suffering any

damage. The private houses have roofs or boards, which are laid parallel to the spars, and sometimes to the eaves, or sometimes obliquely. The corners of houses are made of a grey small grained lime stone, which has a strong smell, like the stink-stone (*nitrum suillum*, or *lapis suillus prismaticus*), and the windows are generally encased with it. The outside of the houses are generally whitewashed. The windows are placed on the inner side of the walls; for they have sometimes double windows in winter. The middle roof has two, or at most three spars, covered with boards only. The rooms are warmed in winter by small iron stoves, which are removed in summer. *The floors are very dirty in every house, and have the appearance of being cleaned but once every year!*

"The POWDER MAGAZINE stands on the summit of the mountain on which the city is built, and southward of the palace.

"The streets in the upper city have a sufficient breadth, but are very rugged, on account of the rock on which it lies; and this renders them very disagreeable to foot passengers and carriages. The black lime stones basset out and project everywhere into sharp angles, which cut the shoes in pieces. The streets cross each other at all angles, and are very crooked.

"The many great orchards and kitchen-gardens, near the house of the Jesuits, and other public and private buildings, make the town appear very large, though the number of houses it contains is not very considerable. Its extent from south to north is said to be about six hundred toises, and from the

shore of the river along the lower town, to the western wall, between three hundred and fifty and four hundred toises. It must be observed that this space is not yet wholly inhabited ; for on the west and south side, along the town walls, are large pieces of land without any buildings on them, and destined to be built upon in future times, when the number of inhabitants will be increased in Quebec.

“ The town is surrounded on all sides by a high wall, and especially towards the land. It was not quite completed when I was there, and they were very busy in finishing it. It is built of the above mentioned black lime slate, and of a dark grey sandstone. For the corners of the gates they have employed a grey lime stone. They have not made any walls towards the water side, but nature seems to have worked for them, by placing a rock there, which it is impossible to ascend. All the rising land thereabout, is likewise so well planted with cannon, that it seems impossible for an enemy's ships, or boats to come to the town, without running into imminent danger of being sunk. On the land side the town is likewise guarded by high mountains, so that nature and art have combined to fortify it.”

So says the professor. The same French walls which were then building still exist, the same scarp and counterscarp, with some additions made in Sir James Craig's time outside of Lewis gate, while on the summit of the mountain, where stood the Powder Magazine in 1749, stands one of the most solid, ingenious, and impregnable of modern fortifications in the world—the Citadel of Quebec. Indeed, the whole town is now most strongly



fortified and heavily armed. In front of the Seminary garden, where a street of buildings, 80 or 90 feet in height, are at present erecting for Laval University, the Seminary established by François de Laval, Bishop of Petrea, having been raised to the dignity of a University by Queen Victoria in 1854, there is a grand battery of thirty-two pounders, on iron traversing platforms, a curtain of the largest sized mortars, sixty-eight pounders in half moons, and carronades at the angle, facing the mouth of the St. Charles. On the north side upon the steep over the Palais, there are block houses at the gates, half moons of thirty-two pounders on traversing platforms at intervals, and bastions literally loaded with long heavy guns, supported by bomb proof magazines, ready for service, situated immediately in rear; the Artillery barracks above St. Rochs, are studded with gunports, and the ramparts, curtains, and bastions facing the Glacis of Gallows Hill grin with long heavy guns, while down and up St. John and St. Lewis streets, carronades are pointed so as completely to sweep them, if need be, and the ditches of the old French line of works newly and strongly faced with the most durable cut stone are protected by thirty-two pounders and even heavier guns without number.

The Bishop, whose See was in Quebec, was then the only Bishop in Canada (now, in 1857, there are eight or nine, an Archbishop and a Bishop Coadjutor in Quebec, a Bishop in Three Rivers, a Bishop and Coadjutor in Montreal, a Bishop in Bytown, a Bishop in Kingston, and a Bishop in Toronto,) and his diocese extended to Louisiana, in the Mexican Gulf northward, and to the south seas westward.

When Mr. Kalm visited Quebec, it was the seaport and trading town in all Canada. There were thirteen great and small vessels in the harbour, and "they expected more in." But no other than French ships could come into the harbour. Now, Russian, Prussian, Norwegian, Bremen, Portuguese, French, American and British flags can flutter and have fluttered to the breeze together in the harbour of Quebec; and only two years ago, there was in the port, a French bark from St. Malo, the birth place of Jacques Cartier, the discoverer of Canada, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French's Corvette the *Capricieuse* lay under the guns of the citadel, for more than a month, while her commander, the Capitaine de Belvèze, made a tour through the country, everywhere meeting with that kind attention, which was extended by the French Governors and their officials, to distinguished strangers in the days of Kalm. Nay, American vessels of war have passed from the great lakes through the St. Lawrence canals to the ocean, their officers being *fêted* by the garrison, while the ships lay opposite the town making necessary repairs for sea. Times have much changed since then.

Quebec, yet as beautiful and imposing as she ever was, does business with the whole world, dealing not in peltries only, but in every possible description of goods, wares, and merchandize. Instead of thirteen great and small vessels being only to be seen opposite the city, three or four hundred craft, many of which are upwards of 2,000 tons, may be seen during the business season so thickly packed together in the stream as to form almost a

floating, or rather a number of floating bridges, from one side of the river to the other :—steamships from the ocean, floating steam palaces for river navigation, and propellers from the inland seas of the Far West—the sound of the railway whistle heard above the roar of the mid-day gun.

The Swedish professor was permitted by the Bishop to visit the largest Nunnery in Quebec, at the solicitation of the Governor General. "The cells of the nuns, he says, are in the highest story, on both sides of the gallery, and are but small, not painted in the inside, but hung with small pictures of saints, and of our Saviour on the cross. A bed with curtains and good bed clothes, a little narrow desk, and a chair or two, is the whole furniture of a cell. They have no fires in winter, and the nuns are forced to lie in the cold cells. On the gallery is a stove which is heated in winter, and as all the rooms are left open, some warmth can by this means come into them. In the middle story are the rooms where they pass the day together. One of these is the room where they are at work; and has an iron stove. Here they were at their needle-work, embroidering, gilding, and making flowers of silk, which bear a great similarity to the natural ones. In a word, they were all employed in such nice works, as were suitable to ladies of their rank in life. In another hall they assemble to hold their juntas. Another apartment contains those who are indisposed; but such as are more dangerously ill, have rooms to themselves. The novices and new comers are taught in another hall. Another is destined for the refectory, or dining room, in

which are tables on all sides; on one side of it is a small desk, on which is laid a French book, concerning the life of those saints who are mentioned in the New Testament. When they dine, all are silent, one of the eldest gets into the desk, and reads a part of the book before mentioned; and when they are gone through it, they read some other religious book. During the meal they sit on that side of the table which is turned towards the wall. Almost in every room is a gilt table, on which are placed candles, together with the picture of Our Saviour on the cross, and of some saints: before these tables they say their prayers. On one side is the church, and near it a large gallery, divided from the church by rails, so that the nuns could only look into it. In this gallery they remain during divine service, and the clergyman is in church, where the nuns reach him his sacerdotal robes through a hole, for they are not allowed to go into the same vestry, and to be in the same room with the priest. This convent contains about fifty nuns, most of them advanced in years.

“The hospital makes a part of the convent. It consists of two large halls, and some rooms near the apothecary’s shop. In the halls are two rows of beds on each side, within each other. The beds next to the wall are furnished with curtains, the outer ones are without them. In each bed are fine bed clothes with clean double sheets.”

Those gentlemen, who came to Quebec from Boston and New York, on an international visit in 1850 or 1851, when they were attended by the Mayor and City Council, and shown through the

Citadel and Hôtel-Dieu, will recognise, in regard to the latter, the accuracy of Kalm's description.

THE RECEPTION OF A GOVERNOR IN 1749.

The reception of a Governor in the time of the French, was marvellously like similar receptions at the present time. "At half an hour after eight, says Kalm, the new Governor General went from the ship into a barge, covered with red cloth, upon which a signal with cannons was given from the ramparts; for all the bells in the town to be set a ringing. All the people of distinction went down to the shore to salute the Governor, who, on alighting from the barge, was received by (the former Governor) the Marquis la Gallissonnière. After they had saluted each other, the Commandant of the town addressed the new Governor General in a very elegant speech, which he answered very concisely; after which all the cannons on the ramparts gave a general salute. The whole street, up to the cathedral, was lined with men in arms, chiefly drawn out from among the burgeses. The Governor General then walked towards the cathedral, dressed in a suit of red, with abundance of gold lace. His servants went before him in green, carrying fire-arms on their shoulders. On his arrival at the cathedral, he was received by the Bishop of Canada, and the whole clergy assembled. The Bishop was arrayed in his pontifical robes, and had a long gilt tiara on his head, and a great crozier of massive silver in his hand. After the Bishop had addressed a short speech to the Governor General, a priest brought a silver crucifix on a long stick (two priests with lighted tapers on

each side of it) to be kissed by the Governor. The bishop and the priests then went through the long walk up to the choir. The servants of the Governor General followed with their hats on, and arms on their shoulders. At last came the Governor General and his suite, and after them a crowd of people. At the beginning of the choir, the Governor General and the General de la Gallissonnière, stopt before a chair covered with red cloth, and stood there during the whole time of the celebration of the mass, which was celebrated by the bishop himself. From the church he went to the palace, when the gentlemen of note in the town went to pay their respects to him. The religious of the different orders with their respective superiors likewise came to him, to testify their joy on his happy arrival. Among the number that came to visit him, none staid to dine but those that were invited beforehand, among which I had the honor to be. The entertainment lasted very long, and was as elegant as the occasion required.

“The Governor General, Marquis de la Jonquière, was very tall, and at that time something above sixty years old. He had fought a desperate naval battle with the English in the last war, but had been obliged to surrender, the English being *as it was told*, vastly superior in the number of ships and men. On this occasion, he was wounded by a ball, which entered one side of his shoulders and came out at the other. He was very complaisant, but knew how to preserve his dignity when he distributed favors.”

## DOG-CARTS.

It is only very recently since the use of dogs in the City of Quebec, as beasts of burthen, was prohibited by the City Council. Even yet, some poor people are allowed to use them in drawing wood and water. When Kalm visited Quebec, he saw two great dogs put before a little cart, one before the other. They had neat harness like horses, and bits in their mouths. In the cart was a barrel. The dogs were directed by a boy, who ran behind the cart. As soon as the dogs came to the river, they jumped in of their own accord, and when the boy had filled the barrel, the dogs drew the burthen up the hill again, to the house they belonged to. He had seen them bring not only water, but wood, milk, and other things.

## SHIP-BUILDING.

Quebec is now celebrated for the size, symmetry, and excellent sailing qualities of her ships. Forty or fifty vessels, varying from five hundred to two thousand tons burthen, are annually built here, besides steamers and small craft. In 1749, ship-building was, considering the size of the place, rather extensively carried on. Even ships of war were built for the French navy; but an order had arrived from France, prohibiting the further building of ships of war, except those which were already on the stocks; because they had found that the ships built of American oak did not last so long as those of European oak. The ship-builders were compelled to bring their oak timber from those parts of Canada that bordered upon New England,



because the oak near Quebec was very small and unfit for use. That which was used was brought from the confines of New England in floats or rafts on the rivers near those ports, and near the Lake St. Peter, which fell into the great River St. Lawrence.

## THE HABITANTS.

The common people in the country seemed to be very poor. They had the necessaries of life, but little else. They were content with meals of dry bread and water, bringing all other provisions, such as butter, cheese, flesh, poultry, eggs, &c. to town, in order to get money for them, with which they bought clothes and brandy for themselves, and dresses for their women; but notwithstanding their poverty, they always appeared cheerful and in high spirits. Even yet, the same may be said of the habitants; but there are many farmers in exceedingly comfortable circumstances, and no where in the country is squalid poverty to be met with. They are saving in their habits, but they are, generally speaking, well housed and clad. Between Montreal and Quebec, the country people, on the whole, are in good circumstances, and live certainly much better than the peasants of most European countries, retaining, nevertheless, many of the habits of their forefathers. Strangers visiting Lorette, the Falls of the Montmorenci, the Chaudière, St. Foy, Ancienne Lorette, Charlesbourg, or any of the many beautifully situated villas in the neighbourhood of Quebec, will easily ascertain this for themselves. The example set them by immigrants from the United Kingdom,

has been altogether lost upon the habitants and the Railroads, now penetrating into their midst, will have the effect of adding to their stock of knowledge, and of arousing them to activity and enterprise. He who would see yet some remains of French Canada, must take an early opportunity, not of visiting the modernized town of Quebec only, but the people as well as the remarkable and highly interesting places in its vicinity.

## THE FRENCH LADIES OF QUEBEC.

The Quebec ladies are equal to the French in good breeding. At one time, they were in the habit of dressing their heads too assiduously, and they are as they were, rather fond of showy dresses and trinkets. The Swedish professor says of them : The Frenchmen, who considered things in their true light, complained very much that a great part of the ladies in Canada had got into the pernicious custom of taking too much care of their dress, and squandering all their fortunes and more upon it, instead of sparing something for future times. "They are no less attentive to know the newest fashions ; and they laugh at each other, when they are not dressed to each other's fancy." He adds, "The ladies at Quebec are not very industrious. A girl of eighteen is reckoned very poorly off, if she cannot enumerate at least twenty lovers. These young ladies, especially those of a higher rank, get up at seven and dress till nine, drinking their coffee at the same time. When they are dressed, they place themselves near a window that opens into the street, take up some needle work, and sew a stitch

now and then ; but turn their eyes into the street most of the time. When a young fellow comes in, whether they are acquainted with him or not, they immediately set aside their work, sit down by him, and begin to chat, laugh, joke, and invent *double entendres* ; and this is reckoned very witty." The Professor is nearly as severe as the Honorable Amelia Murray with her "Quebec Muffins." The Professor, however, admits that the daughters of people of all ranks, without exception, go to market and carry home what they have bought, rise soon, and go to bed as late as any people in the town. He adds, and bear this in mind, "the girls of Montreal are very much displeased that those of Quebec get husbands sooner than they !"

Bidding adieu to the ladies, we may be excused for drawing attention to what others, since Kalm, have said of Quebec, afterwards we shall describe the battle of Quebec ; the siege of Quebec by the American General Montgomery ; the state of Quebec during the Rebellion in connection with the almost miraculous escape of Theller and Dodge from the Citadel ; the nature, character, and number of objects worthy of being seen in Quebec as it is ; and the majestic sights, about and below the city, far surpassing anything of a similar nature elsewhere.

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## Chapter II.

**Remarkable periods in Canadian History—Increase of Population—View from Durham Terrace—Consul General Andrews on Quebec—General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders—British Fleet and Army opposite Quebec—The Bombardment—The Assault at Montmorency—Cook, the Navigator—Wolfe and the Poet Gray—The Landing—Ascent to the Plains of Abraham—Battle of Quebec—Death of Wolfe and Monument—Death of Montcalm—Surrender of the Town—Sailing of the Fleet—Exultation of the English "at home" and in America.**

**THERE** have been five remarkable periods when the affairs of Canada have engaged the attention of the British Parliament, viz.:—1774, after the Conquest; 1791, when the country was divided into two Provinces; 1828, when the people of Lower Canada presented an Address, signed by 87,000 persons, complaining of the partial distribution of Patronage, the illegal application of the Public Money and of the Trade Act of the Imperial Parliament; 1839, when Rebellion had secured Responsible Government; and in 1849, when the British inhabitants, aroused to anger by Lord Elgin's sanction of the Rebellion Losses Bill, burned the Parliament buildings, and made a demand for a peaceable separation from the Mother Country.

In 1774, Lower Canada contained only 80,000 inhabitants—1,200 of whom only were British, Upper Canada being a wilderness. In 1791, Lower Canada contained 120,000 people, and Upper Canada 10,000; in 1822, Lower Canada had 450,000 inhabitants, and Upper Canada 130,000; in 1839, Lower Canada contained 700,000 souls, and Upper

Canada nearly 500,000, while in 1851, Lower Canada had 390,261 inhabitants, and Upper Canada 952,004—in all, 1,842,265, the City of Quebec alone containing 42,000 souls, or nearly as many persons as there were in the whole country when it was ceded to Great Britain. The increase has been chiefly in the newly settled Townships of Lower Canada, and in that part of the Province which remained a wilderness long after Quebec had become celebrated in history. Quebec has grown and continues to grow wonderfully; but its growth has been impeded by the increase and foundation of other towns. The external trade of the Province is no longer confined to a few Rochelle merchants, who had their warehouses and factors at Quebec; but is shared by other towns, having extensive back countries, and which, obtaining their imports direct, export in the same manner. Quebec has not, however, as some imagine, been injured by this progress. The only convenient seaport for the largest sized ships, her increase of population will be more rapid in the future than it has been in the past. As the land becomes fully settled in the neighbourhood of Toronto, and such other places as have doubled their previous population in ten years, the growth of Quebec will certainly not be slower than that of towns having neither her advantages as a seaport, nor her facilities for manufactures, a town yet retaining and likely to retain much of her ancient picturesqueness, while gradually stretching herself from the Church of Notre Dame de la Victoire, in the Lower Town, to Sillery, on the one side, and from the

Heights of Abraham, across the River St. Charles, to the Flats of Beauport, on the other. Quebec is worthy of a visit from the intelligent stranger as much for what she is, as for what she has been. It is not only that a view, the most magnificent on which man ever gazed, is to be had from Durham Terrace—the eye bringing together smiling fields, and the interminable primeval forest, the impregnable fortress, and the signs of peaceful industry—grouping, to use the language of Warburton, mountain and plain, sinuous river and broad tranquil waters, stately ship and tiny boat, gentle hill and shady valley, bold headland and rich fruitful fields, frowning battlement and cheerful villa, glittering dome and rural spire, flowery garden and sombre forest.—Nor that she is the city from which Champlain designed to save souls, the salvation of one of which was, in his opinion, of more value than the conquest of an empire, and upon which his most Christian Majesty designed to raise another France to contend with, and keep the increasing wealth and power of England in check; but because of her position as a place of business. No intelligent stranger can view the number of ships contained in the Port of Quebec, moored at the wharves, at anchor in the stream, or taking in timber at the coves, during the season of navigation, without being struck with the importance of the situation—and in connection with present and future railroads and ocean steamships, without arriving at some idea of the ultimate greatness of that city purchased by England with the blood of Wolfe, for the extension of her Anglo-Saxon and Celtic races, her

laws and institutions, her manners and her customs, modified by place and circumstances.

Mr. Israel D. Andrews, Consul of the United States, for Canada and New Brunswick, thus speaks of the Harbour of Quebec :—"The Harbour of Quebec is not unlike that of New York, the Island of Orleans serves as a barrier from the north-east sea, and like Long Island, affording two channels of approach. A portage of about fifteen miles on both sides of the river not only affords the necessary wharves, but coves of sufficient magnitude to float some thirty or forty millions of cubic feet of deals, besides staves, lathwood, &c. A fresh water tide, rising eighteen feet at 'springs,' offers no impediment to the shipment of timber the great business of the port, the vessels so engaged being anchored in the stream (which affords good holding ground) where the cargoes are floated to them at every tide."

It was into this Harbour that Admiral Saunders, on the 26th June, 1759, with a large fleet entered. He had with him the army of a man, whom the able American historian Bancroft thus describes: "His nature, at once affectionate and aspiring, mingled the kindest gentleness with an impetuous courage, which was never exhausted or appalled. He loved letters, and wrote well; he had studied the science of war profoundly, joining to experience a creative mind; and the vehement passion for immortal glory overcame his motives to repose." That man was General Wolfe. The army consisted of eight regiments, two battalions of Royal Americans, three companies of Rangers,



Artillery, and a brigade of Engineers, in all, about eight thousand men; the fleet under Saunders had two and twenty ships of the line, and as many frigates and armed vessels; on board of one of the ships being Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, and as master of another, James Cook, the navigator, who was destined to explore and reveal the unknown paths and thousand Isles of the Pacific. The great Pitt had resolved that the boundless north of the American continent should be a conquest for his country, and without regard to seniority of rank, he selected such officers for his purpose as seemed best qualified to carry it out. Wolfe had done high service at Minden and Louisbourg, and the Government of Great Britain had the fullest confidence in his energy and capacity. The fleet had scarce anchored in the basin opposite the town before Wolfe took possession of the Island of Orleans, and occupied Point Levy with a detachment. His prospects were not however encouraging. His able opponent, Montcalm, had entrenched the western or rather southern bank of the Montmorency, and had thrown up many redoubts between that river and the St. Charles. The stronghold on the promontory of Cape Diamond bristled with cannon: the population was bitterly hostile; every man that could bear arms was in actual service, none but old men, women, and children being left to labor in the fields. Above the city steep banks rendered landing almost impossible. Montcalm, to protect the guardian Citadel of New France, had of regular troops no more than six wasted battalions, but the Canadian militia gave

him the superiority in numbers, and for nine miles or more above the city, as far as Cape Rouge, every landing place was entrenched and protected. The French, during a furious storm of wind, sent down fire ships among the English shipping, which being towed clear of the fleet did no harm, and in the night of the 29th of June, Wolfe being master of the river, ordered Monckton who commanded the Brigade of Grenadiers, to Point Levy, where he constructed batteries of mortars and cannon, and bombarded the town,—batteries, the remains of which can now scarcely be traced in the rising and prosperous village which, in a few years, will be looked upon as a suburb of Quebec. By the discharge of red hot balls and shells fifty houses were set on fire in a night, and soon the lower town was demolished, and the upper seriously injured. The citadel was however beyond their reach, and every avenue from the river to the cliff was too strongly entrenched for an assault. No real progress had as yet been made, and Wolfe, naturally very sensitive, fretted about the matter. He was eager for a battle; eager for anything that would relieve him from what, at a distance, might be looked upon as inactivity. He reconnoitered the Montmorency, saw that the eastern bank was higher than that opposite occupied by Montcalm, landed and encamped, but there was no way of crossing a stream which, though not wide, boiled impetuously over rocks, whirled in eddies, or precipitated itself down rapids. Three miles higher up there was a ford, but the bank opposite was steep, thickly wooded, and it had been carefully intrenched. He embarked

his men again, and next with Admiral Saunders examined the shore above the town. Sailing along the well defended bank, from the Montmorency to the St. Charles, he passed the deep and spacious harbour, which at four hundred miles from the sea can shelter a hundred ships of the line, and marked the outline of the precipitous cliff of Cape Diamond. Everywhere he beheld a natural fastness, vigilantly defended, intrenchments, cannon, boats, and floating batteries guarding every access.\* There appeared to be no chance of effecting a landing anywhere. Meantime, at mid-night, on the twenty-eighth of July, the French sent down another raft of fire ships, which did no more harm than those sent down a month before. Wolfe returned to Montmorency, resolved on an engagement there, at whatever risk. Immediately below the Falls of that river, which flow over a perpendicular rock, two hundred and fifty feet high, amidst clouds of spray and rainbow glories, there is a ford at low water near the junction of the Montmorency with the St. Lawrence, and it was planned that two brigades should pass the ford at the proper time of the tide, while Monckton's regiments should cross the St. Lawrence from Point Levy at slack tide. The signal was made, the boats crossed from Point Levy, and Wolfe selected a landing place; but some of the boats from Point Levy grounded upon a ledge of rocks that runs out into the river, and while they were being got off the enemy kept up an incessant fire of shot and shells. Nevertheless the attack was begun. Thirteen companies

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\* Bancroft.

of Grenadiers, and two hundred of the second battalion of the Royal Americans, getting first ashore, ran hastily towards the intrenchments, and were repulsed in such disorder that they could not again form into line, though Monckton's regiments had arrived and had formed with the coolness of invincible valor. A storm was approaching, night was near, and the tide was rapidly rising when Wolfe considered it expedient to retreat, after four hundred lives had been lost. This happened on the last day of July. Soon after Brigadier Murray was sent with twelve hundred men above the town to destroy the French ships and open a communication with General Amherst who, at the head of a large force, was expected to invade Canada by way of Lake Champlain and form a junction with Wolfe. Murray only was able to effect a landing at Deschambault, a village situated half way between Quebec and Three Rivers, and there learned that Niagara had surrendered, and that the French had abandoned, retreating before Amherst, Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but although only opposed by three thousand men, Amherst loitered at Crown Point, and not even a messenger from him arrived. It was thus, when the feeble frame of Wolfe sank under the energy of his restless spirit. Yet disabled by fever, he laid before the Brigadiers three several and equally desperate methods of attacking Montcalm at Beauport; but they were all opposed as promising little chance of success; and Wolfe wrote to Pitt, the Prime Minister of England, in a spirit of such despondency, that England read the despatch with dismay, and feared to hear further

tidings. "My constitution, wrote the General to a friend, is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the state, and without any prospect of it." But the hopelessness of Wolfe's position did not reduce him to inactivity. Securing the posts in the Isle of Orleans and opposite Quebec, he marched with the army on the fifth and sixth of September from Point Levy, to which place he had transferred all the troops from Montmorency, and embarked them in transports that had passed the town for the purpose. Admiral Holmes with some ships, ascended the river to amuse Bougainville, whom Montcalm had sent up the north shore to watch the movements of the British army and prevent a landing. De Levi was sent to Montreal, to protect it, and Nouvelle France began to feel that, it being late in the autumn, the worst was over, as the invading fleet must soon withdraw from the river. But Wolfe, intently reconnoitering, discovered the Cove, which now bears his name, where the bending promontories almost form a basin with a very narrow margin, over which the hill rises precipitously; and saw a path that wound up the steep so narrow that two men could hardly march in it abreast. There were only a few tents on the summit, and he knew, by counting their number, that the post which guarded the path could not exceed a hundred men. A landing at this point was instantly resolved upon. Cook, the great Navigator, was sent to sound the water off Beauport, and plant buoys as if an attack were intended in that quarter, while the troops were kept afloat far above

the town. It was a bright evening in autumn, that of the 12th of September, when the heroic Wolfe visited his stations to make his final inspection, and utter his last words of encouragement. As he passed from ship to ship, he spoke to those in the boat with him, of the Poet Gray, and the Elegy in a country Church Yard. "I," said he, "would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow;" and while the oars struck the river, as it rippled in the silence of the night air, under the flowing tide, he repeated:—

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,  
Await alike the inevitable hour;  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

On the thirteenth of September,\* one hour after midnight, Wolfe, with Monckton and Murray, and about half the forces set off in boats, and without sail or oars, glided down the river with the tide, followed by the ships, having previously issued a "General Order" from on board Her Majesty's ship *Sutherland*, giving an idea of his plan of attack, and of his arrangements to secure the landing place after a landing had been effected. In three quarters of an hour the ships followed, and though the night had become dark, aided by the rapid ebb-tide, they reached the cove, just in time to cover the landing. The troops leaped on shore. The

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\* Bancroft, in a foot note, acknowledges that he derived his information of this incident from the late Dr. John Charlton Fisher, of Quebec, to whom the Picture of Quebec, published by Mr. Hawkins, in 1884, is indebted for much of its historical value.

The late Andrew Stuart, Esquire, contributed very much of historical value to Hawkins' Picture of Quebec.

ight infantry, who found themselves borne by the current a little below the intrenched path, clambered up the steep hill, staying themselves by the roots and boughs of the maple and spruce and ash trees that covered the precipitous declivity, and, after a little firing dispersed the guard at the top, commanded by Captain De Vergor, when the rest ascended without molestation, the pathway already alluded to. Only one light six pounder gun was brought up the precipice by some English sailors; a battery of other guns, on the left, was abandoned to Colonel Howe. When Townshend's division disembarked, the English had already gained one of the roads to Quebec, and advancing in front of the forest, Wolfe stood at daybreak, with his invincible battalions on the Plains of Abraham, the battle field of empire.\* Montcalm was amazed beyond measure, when the news first reached him. He imagined that only a detachment had landed, done some mischief, and retreated. Bougainville's upward movement, while the English troops were going downward, had not occurred to him. He was unwilling to believe in the possibility of a landing having been effected, for as far as a pitched battle was concerned, it was his weak side. He might have taken shelter behind the walls of Quebec, and it might have been found impossible even for Wolfe to have carried the works. It is, besides, doubtful that any benefit would have accrued to the English from such a landing so late in the year had Montcalm done nothing but abandon his intrenchments on the

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\* Bancroft, page 333.



Montmorency and St. Charles, and have concentrated his whole strength in Quebec; but Montcalm did not do so. He at once prepared to attack Wolfe, and hoped to be enabled to drive him into the river again before mid-day. It was with this latter view that he hastily crossed the valley of the St. Charles, and before ten in the forenoon, the two armies, one being composed of less than five thousand men, stood opposite each other. The English were all regulars; the French partly regulars, partly colonial corps, partly burghers of Quebec, and partly Indians. For nearly an hour the two armies cannonaded each other. Montcalm having the advantage of position, his army being posted in a crescent shape from what is now the St. Charles road, along the line of the present Martello towers. The French had three field-pieces, and the English only one. Montcalm sent messages for De Vaudreuil and Bougainville to come up; but, without waiting for their arrival, at last led the French army impetuously to the attack. The French, broken by their precipitation, and by the unevenness of the ground, fired by platoons, irregularly, while the English, especially the forty-third and forty-seventh, where Monckton stood, received the shock with calmness: and after having, at Wolfe's command, reserved their fire till the enemy was within forty yards, their line began a regular, rapid, and exact discharge of musketry. Montcalm rushed from point to point, cheering by his example and encouraging by his presence his men, many of whom, unaccustomed to military discipline, could with difficulty be kept

together. He was wounded, and his second in command, De Sennezergues, an associate in glory at Ticonderoga, had been killed. The Canadians at length, under a hot fire in the open field, began to waver, which Wolfe perceiving, placed himself at the head of the twenty-eighth, and the Louisbourg grenadiers, gave the word to charge, and the French fled before the British bayonet in wild disorder. Colonel Guy Carleton was injured; Wolfe's Adjutant General, Barre, had lost an eye; Wolfe himself had been wounded in the wrist, and as he pushed forward with the grenadiers, received a second wound, and just as the fortune of the day was decided, a third ball struck him mortally in the breast. Monckton had been shot through the lungs.

It was while in the agonies of death that Wolfe heard the cry of "they flee," "they flee," and on being told that it was the French who fled exclaimed, "now God be praised, I die happy."

These were the last words of one concerning whom it is our boast, that "Chatham's language was his mother tongue." At the early age of thirty-two Wolfe lay dead upon the battle field of the Plains of Abraham, where a Monument, containing the simple inscription:

HERE, LIED

WOLFE,

VICTORIOUS.

A Monument twice erected—first by Lord Aylmer, when Governor in Chief, in 1835, which was carried away by visitors, piecemeal; and secondly a more

imposing and very chaste, fluted column, with the same inscription, erected at the suggestion of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Commander of the Forces in 1849, by the Officers of the Army in Canada,—may now be seen, and the battle field traced out as distinctly as a hundred years ago.

Wolfe being dead, and Monckton wounded, the command of the English army devolved upon Townshend, brave but not sagacious, and who when De Bougainville appeared in view, declined a contest with a fresh enemy. Montcalm was no more to turn such an incident to account. In attempting to rally a body of fugitive Canadians, in a copse near St. John's Gate, he was mortally wounded. Assured by his surgeon that he would survive for twelve hours, he called a Council of War, and showed that within that time, all the French troops near at hand might be concentrated, and the attack renewed before the English were intrenched; and when De Ramsay who commanded the garrison, asked his advice about defending the city, he simply replied, "to your keeping I commend the honor of France. As for me, I must pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." The day of battle had scarcely passed, when De Vaudreuil, who had no capacity for war, wrote to De Ramsay, at Quebec, not to wait for an assault, but, as soon as his provisions were exhausted, to hoist the white flag of surrender.

On the 17th of September, De Ramsay capitulated.

Montcalm died on the 14th of September, and was buried within the precincts of the Ursuline

Convent. In 1835, His Excellency, General Lord Aylmer, Governor-in-Chief of Canada, caused a marble slab, having the following inscription :

HONNEUR

^

MONTCALM !

LE DESTIN EN LUI DÉROBANT

LA VICTOIRE,

L'A RÉCOMPENSÉ PAR

UNE MORT GLORIEUSE !

to be placed in the Ursuline Chapel, to the memory of this brave but unfortunate soldier, whose skull, by the way, was dug up ten or twelve years ago, and placed in a glass case, where the curious in relics may see it by applying to the Chaplain of the Convent.

Lord Dalhousie, in 1827, raised an Obelisk in the Governor's Garden, which is very conspicuously situated under the Citadel, and not far from the site of the residence of the Governors General of New France, and of their successors the English Governors-in-Chief of Canada, to both the victor and the vanquished. It bears this neat inscription :

MORTEM. VIRTUS. COMMUNEM.

FAMAM. HISTORIA.

MONUMENTUM. POSTERITAS.

DEDIT.

and the reader, who understands the Latin tongue, is further informed by the following additional inscription, that this Monument in honor of these illustrious men—Wolfe and Montcalm—was erected by George, Earl of Dalhousie, Captain General

of British North America, on the 15th November,  
1827, during the Reign of George IV.:—

HUJUSCE

MONUMENTI IN VIROBUM ILLUSTRIBUM,

WOLFE ET MONTCALM,

FUNDAMENTUM, P. C.

GEORGIUS COMES DE DALHOUSIE ;

IN SEPTENTRIONALIS AMERICÆ PARTIBUS

SUMMAM RERUM ADMINISTRANS ;

OPUS PER MULTOS ANNOS PRÆTERMISSUM,

QUID DUCI EGREGIO CONVENTIUS ?

AUTORITATE PROMOVENS, EXEMPLO STIMULANS,

MUNIFICENTIA FOVENS

DIE NOVEMBRIS XV.

A. D. MDCCCXXVII,

GEORGIO IV. BRITANNIARUM REGE.

The remains of Wolfe were conveyed to England in the Royal William, an 84 gun ship; and were buried there in a vault, in the Parish Church of Greenwich, where his mother, Henrietta, who did not die until 1765, lies, and also the remains of his father, the Honorable Lieutenant General Edward Wolfe, who, at the age of 74, had died only in the previous spring—March, 1759.

When Quebec fell, "America rang with exultation; the hills glared with bonfires; legislatures, the pulpit, the press echoed the general joy; provinces and families gave thanks to God. England too, which had shared the despondency of Wolfe, triumphed at his victory, and wept for his death. Joy, grief, curiosity, amazement, were on every countenance." \*

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\* Bancroft's History of the United States.

### Chapter III.

The Capitulation—The Cession to Great Britain—The Quebec Act—The American Revolution—Montgomery's Invasion—General Arnold—Arnold's character—The Expedition through the Wilderness—The Order of March—A fatiguing Journey—The Flag-staff Mountain—Sickness of the Troops—Encampment on Lake Megantic—Descent of the Chaudière—Washington's Manifesto—Arrival at Point Levy—Crossing of the River—Arnold on Plains of Abraham—Arrival of Montgomery—The Siege—British Forces in Quebec—The Assault—Skirmish at *Près-de-Ville*—Fall of Montgomery—Arnold's Attack—Sortie of the Garrison—Loss of the Americans—A Disinterment—Remarks on the Invasion—1812.

By the Capitulation, which suffered the Garrison of Quebec to march out with the honors of war, the inhabitants of the country were permitted the free exercise of their religion; and, afterwards, in 1774, the Roman Catholic Church establishment was recognized; and disputes concerning landed and real property were to be settled by the *Coutume de Paris*. In criminal cases only was the Law of England to apply.

Admiral Saunders, with all the Fleet, except two ships, sailed for England, on the 18th of October, Quebec being left to the care of General Murray and about 3,000 men. After the fleet had sailed, several attempts were made upon the British outposts at Point Levy, Cape Rouge, and St. Foy, unsuccessfully. Winter came, and the sufferings of the conquered were dreadful. The Frazer Highlanders wore their kilts, notwithstanding the extreme cold, and provisions were so scarce and dear, that many of the inhabitants died of starva-

tion. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor General of His Most Christian Majesty, busied himself at Montreal, with preparations for the recovery of Quebec, in the spring. In April, he sent the General De Levi, with an army of 10,000 men, to effect that object. De Levi arrived within three miles of Quebec, on the 28th, and defeated General Murray's force of 2,200 men imprudently sent to meet him. The City was again besieged, but this time by the French. Indeed, it was only on the re-appearance of British ships, about the middle of May, that the siege was raised, and De Levi retreated to Jacques Cartier.

Montcalm, who was not only a general, but a statesman, is said to have expressed himself to the effect, that the Conquest of Canada by England would endanger her retention of the New England Colonies, and ultimately prove injurious to her interests on this Continent. Canada, not subject to France, would be no source of uneasiness or annoyance to the English Colonists, who already were becoming politically important, and somewhat impatient of restraint. How far such an opinion was justifiable, is to be gathered from the condition of Canada and the Colonies of Great Britain in America, at this hour.

Canada was, in 1763, ceded by His Most Christian Majesty, the King of France, to His Britannic Majesty King George the Second. Emigration from the United Kingdom to Canada was encouraged—not to Canada only, but to Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. By the treaty of 1763, signed at Paris, Nova Scotia, Canada, the Island of



Cape Breton, and all the other Islands in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, were ceded to the British Crown.\*

Four districts and separate Provinces were ceded:—Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada. The new Government of Quebec was “bound-  
“ed on the Labrador coast by the River St. John,  
“and from thence, by a line drawn from the head of  
“that river, through the Lake St. John to the south  
“end of Lake Nipissing; from whence the said line,  
“crossing the River St. Lawrence and Lake Champ-  
“lain, in forty-five degrees of north latitude, passes  
“along the highlands which divide the rivers that  
“empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence,  
“from those that fall into the sea, and also along the  
“north coast of the Baie des Chaleurs, and the  
“coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosiers;  
“and from thence, crossing the mouth of the River  
“St. Lawrence, by the West end of the Island of  
“Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid River St.  
“John.”

For some years after the Conquest, the form of Government was purely military. It was, indeed, only in 1774, that two Acts were passed by the British Government, one with the view of providing a Revenue for the Civil Government of the Province of Quebec, as the whole of Canada was then termed, the other called “The Quebec Act,” defining the boundaries of the Province, setting aside all the provisions of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, and appointing a governing Council of not more than twenty-three, nor less than seventeen persons.

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\* Roger's Canada, page 56.

And whatever may have been the motive for this almost unlooked for liberality on the part of the mother country, it is not a little singular that only a year later, England's great difficulty with her old colonies occurred.

"The Quebec Act," was in itself a cause of offence to them. On the 21st of October, 1774, the following language was made use of by the Congress, in reference to that Act, in an Address to the people of Great Britain :—"Nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country, a religion that has deluged your Island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world." And "that we think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets." The attack was of a two-fold nature. Both the sword and the pen were brought into requisition. It was supposed by the discontented old colonists, that the boundary of the lakes and rivers which emptied themselves into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and had formed the natural barrier between two nations, until the peace of Paris of 1763, when Canada passed from the dominion of France to that of the British Crown, formed no boundary to British rule, as the sway of the Anglo-Saxon race was now fully established over the whole of the northern part of the continent; and it was further supposed, that it was, therefore, proper to detract, if possible, from the power of Great Britain, to harm the revolutionary colonists on the great

watery highway of the lakes and rivers, or to prevent such a united force of Colonial and Provincial inhabitants as might counterbalance, in a great measure, the pertinacious loyalists who were to discountenance American appeals for justice,—the warfare, before the declaration of American Independence, being “neither against the throne nor “the laws of England, but against a reckless and oppressive ministry.”\* Efforts were, for such reasons, made to obtain possession of the keys of the Lakes of the St. Lawrence at Quebec and Montreal. The old colonists were to make a war of political propaganda on Canada, and they resolved upon the employment of both force and persuasion. Generals Montgomery, Arnold, and Allen, invaded Canada, and, to a certain point, with complete success. After the successes of the two latter officers at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Arnold pushed on towards Quebec, through the wilderness, and had ascended the heights of Abraham before Montgomery, who had proceeded towards Quebec from Montreal, had arrived. Under these circumstances, Arnold retired about twenty miles above Quebec, to wait for Montgomery. Meanwhile, the Governor of Canada, Sir Guy Carleton, had escaped through Montgomery's army, in the dead of night, in an open boat, rowed with muffled oars, guided by Captain Bouchette of the Royal Navy, and was now safely lodged in the chief Fortress of America.†

The manner in which the afterwards celebrated or rather notorious Arnold accomplished his perilous

\* See the Journal of Charles Carroll, of Carolton, published by the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore—page 6.

† Roger's Canada.

march through the wilderness, up the Kennebec and Dead River, through Lake Megantic, and down the Chaudière to Quebec, is highly interesting. The route was not altogether a new one, and the time may come when a near water communication for steamers instead of only for canoes and bateaux from Quebec to the Atlantic, may be opened up, the more especially as remunerative gold and copper mines have within the last ten years, been discovered in the neighbourhood of where the Chaudière issues from Lake Megantic. In 1753, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, had acquired intelligence that the French had greatly increased their settlements upon each side of the River Chaudière, which falls into the St. Lawrence a very few miles above Quebec, and that they were proceeding to make settlements at about thirty miles distance, upon the carrying place that separates the head of the Chaudière from the Kennebec, this latter mentioned river affording the French a shorter passage from Quebec for making descents upon the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire, than any other route; and from which, during the war between them and New England in 1723 and 1724, the Indians made all their incursions and ravages upon the eastern parts of Massachusetts Bay. Indeed, in the following war, having been told that the Arresigunnticook, Norridgewalk, and Penobscot Indians were upon the point of breaking out into hostilities against the English, the same Governor informed the Assembly of Massachusetts, of these several matters, and recommended the construction of a Fort near the

head of the Kennebec, and the settlement by English colonists of its neighbourhood to prevent the French from taking possession, and two forts were consequently built, one called Fort Western, about thirty-seven miles from the mouth of the Kennebec; and the other, Fort Halifax, about fifty-four.

Indeed Mr. Jared Sparks, the talented biographer of Benedict Arnold, very candidly admits that the Commander of the American expedition was not ignorant of the obstacles with which he had to contend, as Colonel Montrossor, an officer in the British army, had passed over the same route, fifteen years before, and written a journal of his tour, an imperfect copy of which had fallen into the hands of Arnold. Montrossor came from Quebec, ascending the Rivers Chaudière and Des Loups, crossing the highlands near the head waters of the Penobscot, pursuing his way through Mouse-head Lake, and entering the Kennebec by its eastern branch. He returned up the western branch, or Dead River, and through Lake Megantic, and this latter was the route taken by Arnold.

The expedition through the eastern wilderness to Quebec, was devised by General George Washington, in August, 1775, he being then in command of the Continental army at Cambridge. He knew of none better fitted for the command of such an expedition than the bold and reckless, energetic and ready-planning Colonel Arnold, a man of an imperious temperament, dashing, brave, and talented, envied by his equals in rank, lauded by those who knew his worth, petted by Washington, as just as

he was able, victimized by spite, selfish and spendthrift by nature, revengeful from the consciousness of neglect, and ultimately, a deserter and traitor almost from necessity, certainly from wounded pride—an able officer, selfish, yet impulsively generous, a clever man without the ability to keep a friend.

About eleven hundred men, being ten companies of musketeers from New England, and three companies of riflemen from Virginia and Pennsylvania, were placed by the Continental Congress under the command of Arnold. The Field Officers under him were Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Green, afterwards the hero of the Red Bank, Lieutenant Colonel Roger Enos, and Majors Bigelow and Meigs. At the head of the riflemen was Captain Daniel Morgan, renowned in the subsequent annals of the war.

These troops marched from Cambridge to Newbury Port, where they embarked on board of eleven transports, on the 18th of September, sailing the next day for the mouth of the Kennebec. Two days after leaving Newbury Port all the transports had entered the Kennebec, and sailed up the river to Gardiner Town, or rather at Pittston, situated on the opposite bank, where a company of carpenters had several days before been despatched from Cambridge to construct two hundred bateaux. These being in readiness, the troops and provisions were transferred to them from the shipping, and soon they all rendezvoused at Fort Western. "Here, says Sparks, the hard struggles, sufferings, "and dangers were to begin. Eleven hundred men

“with arms, ammunition, and all the apparatus of war, burthened with the provisions for their sustenance, and clothing to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, were to pass through a region uninhabited, wild, and desolate, forcing their bateaux against a swift current, and carrying them and their contents on their shoulders around rapids and cataracts, over craggy precipices, and through morasses, till they should reach the French settlements on the Canada frontiers, a distance of more than two hundred miles.” A party of six or seven men were at this place sent forward in two birch canoes, under the command of Lieutenant Steele, with orders to go as far as Lake Megantic, or Chaudière Pond, as it was sometimes called, and procure such intelligence as they could from the Indians; and another party, under Lieutenant Church, who was accompanied by a surveyor, was sent on to take the exact courses and distances of the Lead River. Then the army set off in four divisions, each setting off a day before the other, and thus allowing sufficient space between them to prevent any interference in passing up the rapids and around the falls. Morgan went ahead with the riflemen; then came Greene and Bigelow with the three companies of musketeers; these were followed by Meigs with four others; and last of all was Enos, who brought up the rear, with the three remaining companies. Arnold followed in a birch canoe, and pushing forward, passed the whole line at different points, overtaking Morgan’s advanced party on the third day at Norridgewock Falls, immediately below which, on the eastern

bank of the river, was a wide and beautiful plain, once the site of an Indian village, belonging to a tribe called Norridgewalk, and on which were the ruins of a catholic church, where an already extinct race of savages had bowed the knee to the great creator and protector of the human race. At the Falls all the bateaux were taken and transported a mile and a quarter by land, a rather difficult task as the banks on each side were uneven and rocky. Before they were launched again, it was discovered that the boats, having been hastily and therefore imperfectly made, had become leaky, and much of the provisions, particularly the bread, thereby damaged; but the leakage may have been caused by the frequent accidents that had occurred in navigating them. The carpenters were set to work to repair damages, which caused a detention of seven days. As soon as the last bateau was launched again, Arnold betook himself to his birch canoe with his Indian guide, quickly shot ahead of the rear division, passed the portage at the Carratunc Falls, and in two days arrived at the great carrying place, twelve miles below the junction of the Dead River with the eastern branch of the Kennebec, where he found the two first divisions of the army. Up to this time, although the fatigue was very great, only one man had died; but desertion was frequent, and there was considerable sickness. The whole number of effective men did not now exceed nine hundred and fifty. The men oftentimes had to wade and force the bateaux up the rapid current, so much so that Arnold wrote to Washington that his men might have been taken for amphibious animals, "as they were great part



"of the time under water." With only twenty-five days provisions for the whole detachment, he expected to reach the Chaudière in 8 or 10 days; but was disappointed. He had 15 miles to travel, in passing over the great Carrying Place, and with incredible toil the bateaux, provisions, and baggage, which had to be carried over the shoulders of the men, were taken from the waters of the Kennebec and transported along an ascending, rugged, and precipitous path for more than three miles to the first of three ponds, which intervened, where they were again put afloat; and thus it was by alternate water and land carriage through lakes, creeks, morasses, and craggy ravines, they reached the Dead River. The men however feasted on delicious salmon trout, which the ponds afforded in prodigious quantities. For many miles, the Dead River presented a smooth surface and gentle current, interrupted here and there by falls of short descent, at which were carrying places. As the bateaux moved along the stream a bold and lofty mountain appeared in the distance, whose summit was whitened with snow. The river, as the voyageurs approached the mountain, was discovered to pursue a very meandering course, near its base, and the progress was consequently slow. In the vicinity of this mountain Arnold encamped for three days and raised the American flag over his tent. There is now a hamlet on its top called the Flagstaff. Major Bigelow, whose name the mountain bears, is asserted to have ascended to its summit with the hope of discovering the hills of Canada, and the spires of Quebec. However, a party of ninety men

was sent back to the rear from this camp for provisions, which were beginning to get scarce, and it had a somewhat awkward effect. Morgan and his rifles were in front, and Arnold followed with the second division. For three days it rained incessantly, every man and all the baggage being drenched with water, and one night while they were endeavouring to take a little repose on the bank, the men were suddenly aroused by the freshet which came rushing upon them in a torrent, and hardly allowed ~~them~~ time to escape before the ground on which they had lain down was overflowed. In nine hours the river rose perpendicularly eight feet, and embarrassments thickened at every step. The current was every where rapid; the stream had spread itself over the low grounds, exposing the bateaux to be entangled in the drift wood and bushes; sometimes they were led away from the main stream into branches and obliged to retrace their course; and they were further delayed by portages which became more frequent as they advanced. To make matters worse, by the turbulence of the waters, seven bateaux were upset and all their contents lost. The greater quantity of the previously remaining provisions was lost, and the bravest consequently began to despond, especially as they were yet thirty miles from the head of the Chaudière. A council of war was held, at which it was decided that the sick or feeble should be sent back, and the others press forward; and accordingly, Arnold wrote to Greene and Colonel Enos, who were in the rear, ordering them to select such a number of their strongest men as they could

supply, with fifteen days provisions, and to come on with them, leaving the others to return to Norridgewock. Enos misconstrued the order, retreated with his three companies, and marched back to Cambridge. Arnold himself hastened onward with about sixty men, intending to proceed as soon as possible to the inhabitants of the Chaudière, and send back provisions to meet the main forces; and now the rain changed into snow, which fell two inches deep, thus adding the sufferings of cold to those of hunger and fatigue. Ice formed on the surface of the water, in which the men were obliged to wade and drag the boats. Finally, the highlands separating the eastern waters from those falling into the St. Lawrence, were reached. A string of small lakes, choked with logs and other obstructions, had been passed through, near the sources of the Dead River, and seventeen falls had been encountered in ascending its whole distance, around which were portages. The carrying place over the highlands was a little more than four miles, at the termination of which a small stream presented itself, which conducted the boats by a very crooked course into Lake Megantic, the great fountain head of the Chaudière river, a sheet of water thirteen miles long, three or four broad, and surrounded by high mountains. Here, Lieutenants Steel and Church were met, and a person named Jakins, who informed Arnold that the Canadians were friendly, and rejoiced at the approach of the army. Arnold and his party, encamped in a large Indian wigwam that night on the eastern shore of the Lake in tolerably good spirits. Next morning he sent back

instructions to the advancing troops, and ordering Captain Hunchet and fifty-five men to march by land along the margin of the Lake, embarked, with Captain Oswald and Lieutenants Steel and Church with thirteen men in five bateaux and a birch canoe with the view of speedily reaching the French inhabitants that he might be enabled to send back provisions to meet the army. In three hours the northern extremity of the Lake was reached, and the Chaudière entered, the river carrying them with prodigious rapidity on its tide of waters boiling and foaming over a rocky bottom. The baggage was lashed to the boats, and the danger was doubly threatening as they had no guides. They fell at length among rapids, when three of the boats were capsized, dashed to pieces against the rocks, and all their contents swallowed up in the foaming flood. Fortunately for the party no lives were lost, although six men struggled for sometime in the water and were with difficulty saved. This calamity Arnold ascribed to "a kind interposition of Providence, for no sooner had the men dried their clothes and reëmbarked, than one of them who had gone forward called out a fall a head," which had not been previously discovered, and over which the whole party would, only for this accident, have been hurried to inevitable destruction.

After this they were more cautious, but rapids and falls succeeding each other at short intervals, the birch canoe met with the fate of the three bateaux, by running upon the rocks. Through its whole extent the stream, raised by the late rains, was rough, rapid, and dangerous; but the party was

fortunate in losing no lives and in advancing quickly. On the third day after leaving Lake Megantic, being the thirtieth of October, Arnold arrived at what Sparks calls Sertigan, but which is now called *Touffe des Pins*, the first French settlement, four miles below the junction of the Rivière des Loups with the Chaudière, and seventy miles from the lake by the course of the stream.

Arnold instantly sent several Canadians and Indians back with flour and cattle. The troops were met marching through the woods near the banks of the river, all their boats having been destroyed by the violence of the rapids. The whole army arrived within four or five days, emerging from the forest in small, detached parties, and greeting once more, with joy unspeakable, the habitations of civilized men. They were received with kindness by the inhabitants, yet hardly reconciled to their British conquerors. The army had suffered terribly with hunger. So extreme was the famine that for the last four or five days of the march, dogs were killed and greedily devoured.

Arnold assiduously courted the good wishes of the *habitants*, and distributed a manifesto, signed by General Washington, explaining the grounds of the contest between Great Britain and America, and encouraging them to join their neighbours in a common cause, by rallying around the standard of liberty. Arnold produced a rather favorable impression, if it be true, that old men to this day recount to their children the story of the "descent of the Bostonians," as the only great public event that has ever occurred to vary the monotonous

incidents of the sequestered and beautiful valley of the Chaudière. Ten days after reaching the now, and it must have been so then, beautifully situated village of St. Mary, which is some 15 miles below *Touffe des Pins*, Arnold had arrived at Point Levy. His troops followed, and were all with him at that place on the 13th November. Forty Indians were with them, who had joined at *Touffe des Pins* (Sertigan) and on the march below. But his approach had been made known at Quebec by a Savage, and all the boats on the south, or rather eastern side of the St. Lawrence—the river opposite Quebec being due north and south—were withdrawn to prevent his crossing. But Arnold collected some thirty or forty birch canoes, and resolved to cross at once. At nine in the evening he crossed one party, landing them at Wolfe's Cove, and in the darkness eluded a frigate and sloop stationed in the St. Lawrence, for the purpose of intercepting them. The canoes returned, and by four in the morning, five hundred men had passed over at three separate times, and rendezvoused at Wolfe's Cove. The last party had only landed when they were discovered by one of the British gun-boats, into which they fired and killed three men. It was not safe to return again, and about one hundred and fifty men were left at Point Levy.

Without a moment's delay, Arnold and his, it is but justice to say, gallant five hundred, clambered up the precipice, where Wolfe, sixteen years before, had conducted his army to the field of carnage and victory. But although Arnold paraded his troops upon the plains, challenged the

Lieutenant Governor Cramahe to surrender or come out and fight him at once, Cramahe did not play the part of Montcalm, but sent repeated discharges of cannon through the embrasures on the walls, and required him to come in, if he could. The garrison of Quebec had no idea, at first, of Arnold's numbers, and no sooner ascertained them than a sortie was determined upon, and the men, at Point Levy, having crossed the river and joined him, Arnold wisely resolved upon retreating to Pointe Aux Trembles, from which place he despatched a messenger to General Montgomery. And it was on the same day that Arnold left, that Governor Carleton arrived at Quebec. The Americans had gained command of the river above Quebec; and as all the British posts in Canada had been taken except the Capital, this was the grand object to be attained.

Montgomery made all haste to join Arnold for that purpose; and, leaving a small garrison at Montreal, he embarked about three hundred men, several mortars, and Captain Lamb's company of Artillery, on board some of the armed vessels taken at Sorel, and went down the river to Pointe Aux Trembles.

The command now devolved on General Montgomery, and the two detachments marched immediately to the Heights of Abraham, where they arrived on the 4th of December.

The effective force of the Americans was only 1000 men, yet it was resolved to hazard an assault.

Montgomery occupied Holland House, now in the possession of Robert Cassells, Esq., the present mansion having been erected by George O'Kill

Stuart, Esq., Queen's Counsel, and formerly Mayor of Quebec, and which is situated on the Saint Foy road. Arnold took up his quarters in a house near Scott's Bridge.

The following minute account of the siege, assault, death of Montgomery, retreat of the Americans, and the burial and exhumation of the body of a gallant but unfortunate officer, is from Hawkins' Picture of Quebec:

The arrival of the Governor on the 19th November had infused the best spirit among the inhabitants of Quebec. On the 1st December, the motley garrison amounted to eighteen hundred men—all, however, full of zeal in the cause of their King and country, and well supplied with provisions for eight months. They were under the immediate command of Colonel Allan Maclean, of the 84th regiment or Royal Emigrants, composed principally of those of the gallant Fraser Highlanders, who had settled in Canada, and was thus made up:

70 Royal Fusileers, or 7th Regiment.

230 Royal Emigrants, or 84th Regiment.

22 Royal Artillery.

330 British Militia, under Lt. Col. Caldwell.

543 Canadians, under Colonel Dupré.

400 Seamen under Captains Hamilton and Mackenzie.

50 Masters and Mates.

35 Marines.

120 Actificers.

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1800 Total bearing arms.

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The siege, or rather the blockade, was maintained during the whole month of December, although the incidents were few and of little interest. The Americans were established in every house near the walls, more particularly in the Suburb of St. Roch, near the Intendant's Palace.

During this anxious period the gentry and inhabitants of the city bore arms, and cheerfully performed the duties of soldiers. The British Militia were conspicuous for zeal and loyalty, under the command of Major Henry Caldwell, who had the Provincial rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He had served as Deputy Quarter Master General with the army, under General WOLFE, and had settled in the Province after the conquest. The Canadian Militia within the town was commanded by Colonel Le Comte Dupré, an officer of great zeal and ability, who rendered great services during the whole siege.

General Montgomery, despairing to reduce the place by a regular siege, resolved on a night attack, in the hope of either taking it by storm, or of finding the garrison unprepared at some point. In this design he was encouraged by Arnold, whose local knowledge of Quebec was accurate, having been acquired in his frequent visits for the purpose of buying up Canadian horses.—The intention of Montgomery soon became known to the garrison, and General Carleton made every preparation to prevent surprise, and to defeat the assault of the enemy. For several days the Governor, with the officers and gentlemen, off duty, had taken up their quarters in the Récollet Convent, where they slept in their clothes. At last, early in the morning of

the 31st December, and during a violent snow storm, Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced to the attack of the Lower Town, from its western extremity, along a road between the base of Cape Diamond and the river. Arnold, at the same time, advanced from the General Hospital by way of St. Charles Street. The two parties were to meet at the lower end of Mountain Street, and when united were to force Prescott Gate. Two feint attacks in the mean time on the side towards the west, were to distract the attention of the garrison. Such is the outline of this daring plan, the obstacles to the accomplishment of which do not seem to have entered into the contemplation of the American officers, who reckoned too much upon their own fortune and the weakness of the garrison.

When, at the head of seven hundred men, Montgomery had advanced a short distance, he came to a narrow defile, with a precipice towards the river on the one side, and the scarp'd rock above him on the other. This place is known by the name of *Près-de-Ville*. Here all further approach to the Lower Town was intercepted, and commanded by a battery of three pounders placed in a hangard on the south of the pass. The Post was entrusted to a Captain of Canadian Militia, whose force consisted of thirty Canadian and eight British militiamen, with nine British seamen to work the guns as artillery men, under Captain Barnsfare, Master of a transport, laid up in the harbor during the winter. At day-break, some of the guard, being on the look out, discovered, through the imperfect light, a body of troops in full march from WOLFE'S COVE upon

the Post. The men had been kept under arms waiting with the utmost steadiness for the attack, which they had reason to expect, from the reports of deserters; and in pursuance of judicious arrangements which had been previously concerted, the enemy was allowed to approach unmolested within a small distance. They halted at about fifty yards from the barrier; and as the guard remained perfectly still, it was probably concluded that they were not on the alert. To ascertain this an officer was seen to approach quite near to the barrier. After listening a moment or two, he returned to the body; and they instantly dashed forward at double quick time to the attack of the Post.—This was what the guard expected: the artillery-men stood by with lighted matches, and Captain Barnsfare at the critical moment giving the word, the fire of the guns and musketry was directed with deadly precision against the head of the advancing column. The consequence was a precipitate retreat—the enemy was scattered in every direction—the groans of the wounded and of the dying were heard, but nothing certain being known, the pass continued to be swept by the cannon and musketry for the space of ten minutes. The enemy having retired, thirteen bodies were found in the snow, and Montgomery'. Orderly Serjeant, desperately wounded but yet alive, was brought into the guard room.—On being asked if the General himself had been killed, the Serjeant evaded the question, by replying, that he had not seen him for some time, although he could not but have known the fact. This faithful Serjeant died in

about an hour afterwards. It was not ascertained that the American General had been killed, until some hours afterwards, when General Carleton, being anxious to ascertain the truth, sent an Aide-de-Camp to the Seminary, to inquire if any of the American officers, then prisoners, would identify the body. A field officer of Arnold's division, who had been made prisoner near Sault-au-Matelot barrier, consenting, accompanied the Aide-de-Camp to the *Près-de-Ville* guard, and pointed it out among the other bodies, at the same time pronouncing, in accents of grief, a glowing eulogium on Montgomery's bravery and worth. Besides that of the General, the bodies of his two Aides-de-Camp were recognized among the slain. The defeat of Montgomery's force was complete. Colonel Campbell, his second in command, immediately relinquished the undertaking, and led back his men with the utmost precipitation.

The exact spot where the barrier was erected before which Montgomery fell, may be described as crossing the narrow road under the mountain, immediately opposite to the west end of a building which stands on the south, and was formerly occupied as a brewery. The battery extended to the south, and nearly to the river. We have caused an inscription commemorating the event to be placed upon the opposite rock at *Près-de-Ville*.

Soon after the repulse of the enemy before the post at *Près-de-Ville*, information was given to the officer in command there, that Arnold's party, from the General Hospital, advancing along the St. Charles, had captured the barrier at the *Sault-*

*au-Matelot*, and the he intended an attack upon that of *Près-de-Ville*, by taking it in the rear. Immediate preparations were made for the defence of the Post against such an attack, by turning some of the guns of an inner barrier towards the town; and although the intelligence proved false, Arnold having been wounded and his division captured,—yet the incident deserves to be commemorated as affording a satisfactory contradiction to some accounts which have appeared in print, representing the guard at *Près-de-Ville*, as having been paralysed by fear,—the post and barrier “deserted,”—and the fire which killed Montgomery merely “accidental.” On the contrary, the circumstances we have related, being authentic, prove that the conduct of the *Près-de-Ville* guard was firm and collected in the hour of danger; and that by their coolness and steadiness they mainly contributed to the safety of the city. Both Colonel Maclean and General Carleton rendered every justice to their meritorious behaviour on the occasion.

In the mean time the attack by Arnold on the north eastern side of the Lower Town, was made with desperate resolution. It was, fortunately, equally unsuccessful, although the contest was more protracted; and at one time the city was in no small danger. Arnold led his men by files along the River St. Charles, until he came to the *Sault-au-Matelot*, where there was a barrier with two guns mounted. It must be understood that St. Paul Street did not then exist, the tide coming up nearly to the base of the rock, and the

only path between the rock and the beach was the narrow alley which now exists in the rear of St. Paul Street, under the precipice itself. Here the curious visitor will find a jutting rock, where was the first barrier. The whole of the street went by the name of *Sault-au-Matelot* from the most ancient times. Arnold took the command of the forlorn hope, and was leading the attack upon this barrier, when he received a musket wound in the knee which disabled him, and he was carried back to the General Hospital. His troops, however, persevered, and having soon made themselves masters of the barrier, pressed on through the narrow street to the attack of the second, near the eastern extremity of *Sault-au-Matelot* Street. This was a battery which protected the ends of the two streets called St. Peter street and *Sault-au-Matelot*, extending, by means of hangards mounted with cannon, from the rock to the river. The present Custom House, then a private house, had cannon projecting from the end windows, as had the house at the end of *Sault-au-Matelot* Street. The enemy took shelter in the houses on each side, and in the narrow pass leading round the base of the cliff towards Hope Gate, where they were secured by the angle of the rock from the fire of the guns at the barrier. Here the enemy met with a determined resistance, which it was impossible to overcome, and General Carleton having ordered a sortie from Hope Gate under Captain Laws, in order to take them in the rear—and their rear guard under Captain Dearborn, having already surrendered—the division of Arnold demanded quarter, and were brought

prisoners to the Upper Town. The officers were confined in the Seminary. The contest continued for upwards of two hours, and the bravery of the assailants was indisputable. Through the freezing cold, and the pelting of the storm, they maintained the attack until all hopes of success were lost, when they surrendered to a generous enemy, who treated the wounded and prisoners with humanity.

The Americans lost in the attack about one hundred killed and wounded, and six officers of Arnold's party, exclusive of the loss at *Près-de-Ville*. The British lost one officer, Lieut. Anderson of the Royal Navy, and seventeen killed and wounded. The following is a statement of the force which surrendered.

1 Lieutenant Colonel	} Not wounded.
2 Majors,	
8 Captains,	
15 Lieutenants,	
1 Adjutant,	
1 Quarter-Master,	
4 Volunteers,	
350 Rank and file,	
44 Officers and Soldiers, wounded.	

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426 Total, surrendered.

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By the death of Montgomery the command devolved upon Arnold, who had received the rank of Brigadier General. In a letter dated, 14th January, 1776, he complains of the great difficulty he had in keeping his remaining troops together, so disheartened were they by their disasters on the 31st December.

The siege now resumed its former character of a blockade, without any event of importance, until the month of March, when the enemy received reinforcements that increased their numbers to near two thousand men.

A Council of War was called on the 5th of May, and it was determined to raise the siege at once, and to retire to Montreal.

The following facts relating to the interment and disinterment of the body of General Montgomery may be relied upon as authentic:—

In the year 1818, a request having been made to the Governor-in-chief, Sir John Sherbrooke, for leave to disinter the remains of General Montgomery, in order that they might be conveyed to New York, and there re-interred, His Excellency acceded to the request, which came to him on the part of Mrs. Montgomery, the widow of the General. Mr. Thompson gave the following affidavit of the facts in order to satisfy the surviving relations and friends of General Montgomery, that the remains which had been so disinterred after the lapse of forty-two years by the same hand that had interred them, were really those of the late General. Mr. Thompson belonged to the army of Wolfe, in 1759.

“I, James Thompson, of Quebec, in the Province  
“of Lower Canada, do testify and declare—that I  
“served in the capacity of an Assistant Engineer during the siege of this city, invaded during the years  
“1775 and 1776 by the American forces under the  
“command of the late Major General Richard Montgomery. That in an attack made by the American troops under the immediate command of Gene-



"ral Montgomery, in the night of the 31st Decem-  
"ber, 1775, on a British post at the southernmost  
"extremity of the city, near *Prés-de-Ville*, the General  
"received a mortal wound, and with him were  
"killed his two Aides-de-Camp, McPherson and  
"Cheeseman, who were found in the morning of the  
"1st January, 1776, almost covered with snow. That  
"Mrs. Prentice who kept an Hotel, at Quebec, and  
"with whom General Montgomery had previously  
"boarded, was brought to view the body after it was  
"placed in the Guard Room, and which she recognized  
"by a particular mark, which he had on the side  
"of his head, to be the general's. That the body  
"was then conveyed to a house, (Gobert's,\*) by  
"order of Mr. Cramahé, who provided a genteel  
"coffin for the General's body, which was lined inside  
"with flannel, and outside of it with black cloth.  
"That in the night of the 4th January, it was conveyed  
"by me from Gobert's house, and was interred  
"six feet in front of the gate, within a wall that surrounded  
"a powder magazine near the ramparts bounding on St. Lewis Gate.  
"That the funeral service was performed at the grave by the Reverend  
"Mr. de Montmolin, then Chaplain of the garrison.  
"That his two Aides-de-Camp were buried in their  
"clothes without any coffins, and that no person was  
"buried within twenty-five years of the General.  
"That I am positive and can testify and declare,  
"that the coffin of the late General Montgomery,  
"taken up on the morning of the 16th of the present  
"month of June 1818, is the identical coffin deposit-

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\* Gobert's house was at the corner of St. Lewis and St. Ursule streets, opposite the City Hall, St. Lewis Street.

“ed by me on the day of his burial, and that the  
 “present coffin contains the remains of the late General. I do further testify and declare that subsequent to the finding of General Montgomery’s body, I wore his sword, being lighter than my own, and on going to the Seminary, where the American officers were lodged, they recognized the sword, which affected them so much, that numbers of them wept, in consequence of which I have never worn the sword since.

“Given under my hand, at the city of Quebec,  
 “Province of Lower Canada, 19th June, 1818.

“JAMES THOMPSON.”

Over the spot where the brave American breathed his last, the late Alfred Hawkins, Esquire, placed this inscription on the Rock of Cape Diamond :

HERE MONTGOMERY FELL.

DECEMBER, 31st, 1775.



What the effect on the peculiar institutions and social habits of those who were so well disposed to the “Old Colonists” of England, had they succeeded in obtaining full possession of Canada, would have been 80 or 90 years afterwards, or now, can only be matter of conjecture, but it is more than probable, that they would have been still more quickly displaced for, or amalgamated with a more energetic and enterprising race, and that few of the monuments of former times would now have remained in Quebec. The acknowledgment of American independence, and the peace which sub-

sequently ensued, had the effect of settling Upper Canada and of placing into that section of the country, a race of men, neither blind to their personal interests, nor to the general interests of the country, and some of whose descendants have concerted and assisted in carrying out those vast schemes in the way of internal improvements of which we can now so proudly boast.

A second attempt was made to obtain possession of Canada after the declaration of war between the United States and England in 1812; but that was even less successful than the earlier attempt had been. No portion of Canada then fell into the hands of the people and government of the United States, although their exploits on the great lakes were creditable to their enterprise, energy, and bravery, and to their race—a race with which they had chiefly to contend.

Operations, on the British side, were then conducted by orders from the Governor-in-Chief, at Quebec, General Sir George Prevost, who afterwards disgraced the British army at Plattsburg.

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## Chapter IV.

**The Rebellion—Attack upon Fort Malden—The Temptation—Incidents of the Escape—The Escape—The Alarm—The Accidents—An Encounter in Town—Houses of Refuge—Wrath of the Commandant—Theller's View of Quebec—The Conflagrations of May and June, 1845—The Government Riding School Burnt.**

**AFTER** the conclusion of this unhappy contest between kindred peoples, Canada began to grow as an English Colony. Immigration was encouraged, and there was a general disposition to cultivate the arts of peace; but legislation in a new country by men without real representative strength, or fettered in the use of it, as especially were the parliamentary representatives of Lower Canada, could not be otherwise than discontented, the more particularly as the official class, who could scarcely be called even English colonists, were over-bearing, and presumptuously treated, not only the conquered inhabitants, but such old country people as were not largely engaged in business, or had no government employment. Quebec was then and for years had been the headquarters of discontent, the place where the talented, and it may be, patriotic L. J. Papineau, declaimed; where the brilliant Andrew Stuart eloquently defended the rights of Englishmen, and upheld the character of the British people; where his brother, the late Sir James Stuart, who died Chief Justice of the province, thundered against the tyranny of a privileged bureaucracy; where the stern and wise John

Neilson sought justice without attempting to produce rebellion; and where men of lesser mark stirred up the passions of the inhabitants of the Richelieu District until that rebellion was produced, which led to another remarkable occurrence at Quebec. After the affair of St. Denis; the murder of Lieutenant Weir; the matter of St. Charles; the storm and capture of the church of St. Eustache; and the battle of Toronto, there were fillibustering attempts to invade Canada, neither recognized by the government of the United States nor by the bulk of the people, but indulged in by a party sentimental with regard to liberty, and by others to whom plunder and excitement were congenial. In one of these fillibustering expeditions "General" Sutherland, "Brigadier General" Theller, Colonel Dodge, Messrs. Brophy, Thayer and other residents, if not citizens of the United States, sailed from Detroit in the schooner "Anne" for Bois Blanc, which having been "settled," an attack was made upon Fort Malden on the 8th of January, 1838, terminating in the capture of Theller, Dodge, Brophy and some others, General Sutherland having been afterwards captured on the ice, at the mouth of the river Detroit by Colonel John Prince of the Canadian Militia.

The prisoners, after having been for a time in gaol at Toronto, were transferred, some to Fort Henry at Kingston, and others, among whom were Sutherland, Theller, and Dodge, to the Citadel of Quebec, which was then occupied by a Battalion of the Guards, and there imprisoned, but treated with consideration and courtesy. It was not, how-

ever, unnatural that they should endeavour to escape. They were taken out of their prison house daily, for an airing, in charge of a guard, and as it would appear, were not altogether denied the opportunity of conversing with persons who were friendly to them. Theller, in an account of the Rebellion in Canada, edited, it is said, by General Roberts of Detroit, himself minutely details the nature and manner of his intercourse with a Mr. P. S. Grace, while under the charge of the military in Cape Diamond, how he succeeded in bribing soldiers' wives and in cultivating the friendship of officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the guards, much of which is exaggerated and some of which is evidently untrue. Some of the Serjeants for small presents, Theller asserts, did whatever he required, in the way of bringing books and newspapers from town and articles of food and drink from the canteen, which is undoubtedly true, but no man in the regiment either directly or indirectly connived at the escape. It was the result of clever management on the part of Theller, Dodge, and his companions, and of unsuspecting stupidity on the part of the sentry who guarded the door of the prison, and indeed of all who seemed to have had intercourse with the prisoners. The escape was thus effected. On a dark rainy night, late in October, 1838, an iron-bar having been previously cut through with a file given them from without,—the sawing having been effected during performances on the shrill fife of one of the drummers of the garrison, which a prisoner had borrowed for the purpose of passing away the time and keeping

up the spirits of his companions in misfortune, some of whom were despondent,—Theller's conversation seduced a sentry into conversation, next to smoke a pipe, then to drink a tumbler of London porter drugged with rather more than "three times sixty drops" of laudanum. The sentry struggled hard to prevent the drowsiness that was stealing over him; he spoke thick and muttered that he had never before drunk anything so good or strong. He walked about in the rain to keep himself awake, and staggered a little. Called again to the window by the "General," he said "ay—yes—certainly" and staggered over. He said he was "well, Sir—fine Sir—right well, never was better," and Theller while his companions were getting ready to squeeze themselves through the iron window which had lost a bar, talked to the man of the virtues of strong drink, and particularly of London porter; but added that French brandy was still better. The soldier was not so sure of that, and hiccuped negatively. The great dose of laudanum in porter had not yet produced stupifaction, if Theller is to be credited, and half a tumbler of brandy in addition was administered to the simple fellow who was so fond of all the good things of life, which nearly choked him. In a friendly way, Theller then passed his arm through the gratings of one window round the stupified sentry's neck while Dodge passed through, then Thayer held the sentry, while Theller was positively squeezed out by Partridge, who immediately afterwards followed, together with another person named Parker. The rain had ceased, but the

water pouring down into the tubs which had been placed to catch it from the conductors, and the wind, made noise sufficient to drown the sound of footsteps. One by one they slowly moved along, and got behind a small cook-house that was near. The last man, in getting round to the cooking establishment, unfortunately stumbled over a large tin pail that had been placed to catch water from a spout. The noise aroused the attention of a sentry on the ramparts formed by the roof of the casemates, who looked down, but apparently could see nothing. At that moment a sentry, further on, challenged, calling out "who goes there?" and was answered by the relief in the usual manner, which satisfied the first sentry as to the first noise. Theller and his companions crouched down as the relief passed. They went on and relieved the post; then relieved the man above and descended. As they again passed, Theller and the others again crouched down, the whereabouts of the relief being indicated by a lantern, carried by an accompanying drummer boy. Even the features of the soldiers were discernible. As the escaping party knelt, Theller covered with the skirt of his coat a bundle of clothes, tied up in a white handkerchief, carried by one of his party, lest it might attract notice. Passing a third time, they went forward to relieve the sentry outside of the enclosure. At this time, says Theller, we could distinctly hear the man, whom we had left at the window, pulling in the sheet from over the fence, the noise he made, and the whispering of the other person at the window, arousing the stupified



sentry. The guard relief did not hear, being muffled up, and, not suspecting anything, intent only upon their ordinary duty. The opening of the door of the enclosure and the challenge of the outer sentinel partially aroused the inner sentry from his stupor, who loudly challenged as they approached. After the usual forms of relief had been gone through, the Corporal said to the relieving sentry "go in," that was inside of the enclosure, he himself remaining outside. As the relieved sentry came out, the door of the enclosure, or wooden paling, round the prison house was again locked. Our "friend," says Theller, was the last file, and luckily was it as he rather staggered than marched, and carried his musket in a most independent manner. As soon as the sentry got to the guard room, he threw himself on the bed, his condition being unnoticed, where he slept for sixteen hours, and might have slept for ever had not the surgeon and the stomach pump been brought into requisition.

The escaping party moved cautiously forward at respectable distances from each other along the canteen, and then got out into the middle of the great square to elude the sentry at the magazine. While there a serjeant came rushing from the guard room towards the officers' quarters, the red, or as they appeared, dark stripes being visible on a white undress jacket. It seemed to be an alarm. There were only three sentinels between the escaping party and the flagstaff, where the descent was intended. Ahead was one whose duty was to guard the back part of the magazine and a pile

of firewood, which was there corded up, and also to prevent soldiers from going to the canteen. Another stood opposite the door of the officers' mess room. There was room enough in the darkness to pass three sentinels, and Theller and his companions, no longer crawled but walked upright, one by one, quietly, but passing along as quickly as possible. Parker, however, after the serjeant passed, became much excited and terribly nervous, and lost his way. He made some noise and a sentry challenged, but without answering, the rest hurried towards the half-moon battery, where the flagstaff is. Passing round the old telegraph post on the right side, near the stabling attached to the officers' quarters, a sentinel there with side arms only, or as he is technically termed "a flying Dick," challenged and Theller asserts he promptly answered "officer of the guard," when the countersign being demanded, he muttered—"teen," having learned during confinement, that the countersign of the guards ordinarily ended so:—seventeen, eighteen, nineteen or such like, and the sentry fancying from the cap with a gold lace-band on it, which, having undone his cloak, Theller placed upon his head, that he was one of the officers, suffered him to pass. Parker had got among the firewood and was making a noise. Dodge was running about on the top of the wall, making signals for Grace and other friends who were to be outside, but could see no one there. The haulyards of the flagstaff were then partially cut down with a penknife. An alarm was now given by an officer of the garrison, who accidentally came upon Culver, one of the escaping party, and

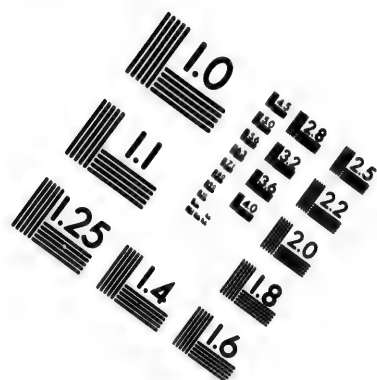
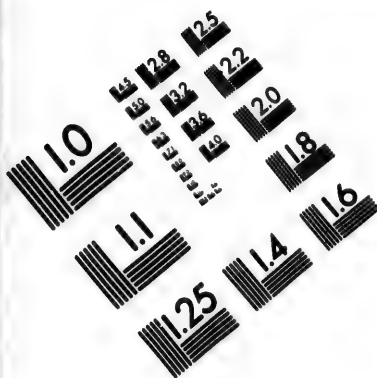
in a moment the drums beat and the guard turned out. The officers rushed out of the mess-room; an Artilleryman detected Parker, and the cry arose that the American prisoners were loose and escaping. Some immediately ran towards the prison, while others dragged Parker to the guard room, and yet others began to search about for "the General," Colonel Dodge, Culver, and Hall, whom Parker intimated in reply to a question put to him by an officer, had only come out. There was no alternative, but to jump from the wall to the flat part of the precipice below, on which the wall is built, which Theller first did. For an instant he hung by his hands, then dropped and alighted on his feet on the solid rock, falling back on his head. He was stunned, and lay a minute or two unconscious. When he came to himself, he heard Lodge inquiring if he was hurt, and replied in the negative, telling him to throw down the bundle of cloaks, and leap upon them. Theller had broken the outer bone of his leg and dislocated his right anklejoint, but had been so stunned that he scarcely felt any pain.

Culver descended next and was stunned, the blood gushing from his nose and mouth; he had, it is said, also fractured his leg. Culver was more fortunate as he alighted on the top of a pile of cloaks and was little, if at all, hurt. Dodge then throwing down the piece of rope which he had cut from the haulyards, to be used in the next descent, also slipped down the wall upon the pile of cloaks and was unhurt. The second descent was made with the aid of the rope, the end of which was held by two of the party, while Theller, with his wound-

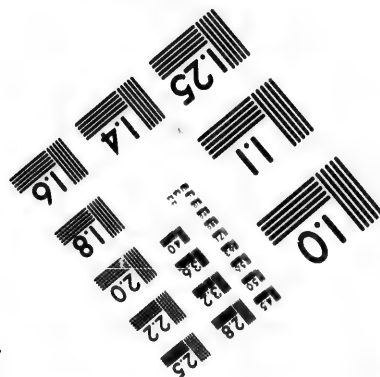
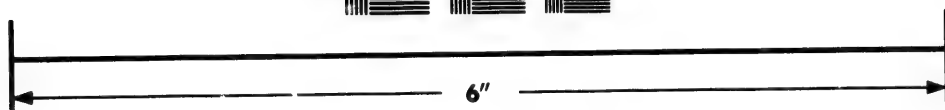
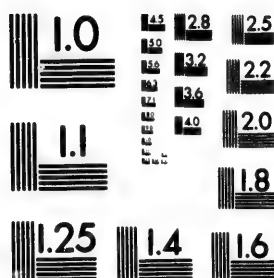
ed leg, slipped down over a piece of cedar post which had been accidentally placed against the wall of the ditch, Culver followed, then Hall held the rope alone for Dodge, and afterwards descended himself as all had done on the first leap, caught as he came to the ground, however, by the rest of the party. Dodge, in saving Hall from falling after, or as he leaped, sprained his wrist. The whole party, however, managed to crawl up the outer wall of the ditch, which was faced with dry stone, by inserting their hands into the interstices and using their feet as well as they could. They rested on the summit of the glacis for a moment, and saw the search that was being made for them inside by the lights that were flashing about in every nook and cranny. Theller as quickly as he could bound his cravat as tightly as he could round his ankle, and got up. Hull carried Culver, and Theller leaning on Dodge's shoulder, hopped along down the sloping glacis to Des Carrières street. There, Hall and Culver were helped over into the lower Governor's garden, to wait until friends could be sent for them, as a crippling party of four, hobbling through the streets of the town at that hour of the night, might be looked upon with suspicion. Their friends were to whistle a particular tune, and receive for answer the word "Canada." Theller and Dodge found themselves opposite the residence of the "Receiver General;" (possibly the residence of Mr. Jeffrey Hale) then passed the sentry, stationed near Wolfe and Montcalm's monument, when the sentry mistaking them in their semi-military costume and in

the darkness, for British officers, carried arms. They had turned the corner of a street near the residence of Major Perrault, and when near the residence of Sir John Colborne, which was then in Mount Carmel street, they knocked at the doors of several houses which they supposed were occupied by Canadians, in whom they thought trust was placed; but no door was opened, and they were going. Dodge hearing the sound of voices, stepped a little in advance and said there were two persons up Haldimand street; and before they got to the head of that street, the party, two gentlemen and a lady, came up, whom Theller accosted in French asking what o'clock it was. The answer was, nearly one o'clock. One of the gentlemen had a lantern in his hand, and Theller says, examined his features when making a virtue of necessity, he told them his name. The lady seemed frightened, the other gentleman started forward to look at him, saying "Mon Dieu! how did you escape from the citadel? The reply was "jumped the wall." "Good heaven, exclaimed the gentleman, are you not hurt? My leg, I believe is broken," responded Dodge, who requested to be directed forward to his friends. Being asked who they were, Theller said that every Canadian ought to be a friend to them, but the gentleman said, he was no patriot and must apprehend and commit him, whereupon Theller asserts he put his hand into his bosom as if to draw a weapon, when the gentleman said, "well as you have been so frank with me, I will let you pass and will give no alarm."





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After this, they passed something like a nunnery, but before getting there, passed a sentry at the door of some officer, as they supposed, who challenged, but mistook them for drunken officers. They crossed the upper market place, passed down Hope street, and got out through the wicket of Hope gate. The guard was immediately afterwards turned out and, Theller alleges, orders given to prevent the egress of the persons who had escaped from the citadel. At or near Lepper's Brewery in Paul street they sat down to rest upon a log of wood outside of a fence which inclosed a ship-yard but did not remain there long. They next met a French Canadian, whose name was Michel—and who, on being informed who they were and what they had done, embraced them. The Canadian took Theller on his back and trotted off with him to the house of their friend nearly a mile off in the suburb of St. Roch, Dodge keeping up as well as he could. The friend opened his door and took them in. Theller then sent off word to one of his other friends, either Grace or Hunter, to go for Hall and Culver left behind in the Governor's garden, and bring them to a place of safety. Dodge went with them as far as the residence of a Mr. Hunter, outside of the walls, and Michel, who was well known, was to pass through the gates and conduct Hall and Culver to Grace's home in Couillard Street, within the gates. Theller was left behind, with his friend's wife who bathed his feet, which were then so swollen that his stockings had to be cut off. His broken leg was very painful. About two hours afterwards, the husband came

back without Dodge who had been left behind in care of Messrs. Hunter and Grace, who had taken him to a place where he would be safe. Culver and Hall were shortly afterwards retaken in a tavern into which they had gone, and reconducted to their old quarters in the citadel. Theller was taken off from Michel's house in St. Rochs in a cart to a barn behind a house situated to the north of Scott's bridge, and lay there for the night among hay; from thence after his wounded limb had been dressed by a patriot surgeon he was transported to Beauport dressed as a habitant. Afterwards he and Dodge were placed together in a hole dug under a stable in St. John Suburbs. On the 3rd of November, disguised as priests, they succeeded in crossing to Point Levy, and from thence reached the lines on horseback, scarcely halting until they were in the town of Augusta, Maine.

General Sir James Macdonell, who commanded the Brigade of Guards, was furiously angry when informed of the escape of the prisoners. The nunneries and many private houses were searched; rewards were offered, and the different roads leading to the city were guarded.

The Serjeant of the citadel guard was reduced to the ranks for gross neglect of duty, and the sentry who had suffered himself to be made stupid, flogged.

To the grandeur of the prospect from the citadel, Theller bears the following testimony:—

“The town-major had chosen the most pleasant part of the works for us to walk, and where we could have the most pleasant prospect; indeed, I

“believe there could not be found, on the continent  
“of America, a more delightful view, nor a more  
“romantic scenery than could be seen from that  
“spot, which was marked out for the limits of our  
“walk. From it we could view the city, as it were  
“beneath our feet, men busy about the usual voca-  
“tions of life, and bustling about like so many ants,  
“whom, in size from that vast height, they some-  
“what resembled; the beautiful St. Lawrence before  
“us, which, for miles, we could see filled with large  
“vessels of war, frigates and steamships, as well as  
“those destined for commerce. Opposite us, on the  
“other shore of the river, was Point Levy, and below  
“that was the Island of Orleans, with its fertile  
“fields and the beautiful green verdure and neatly  
“white-washed cottages, showing that neatness  
“and comfort, was the lot of its inhabitants; and  
“at a far distance were the mountains of Maine,  
“to us, although the past winter’s snow had not left  
“their bleak tops, yet a more beautiful sight, for  
“there dwelt the people of our country, who lived  
“in freedom and in peace, under the protection of  
“the stripes and stars of the American banner. The  
“mist arising from the falls of Montmorency, only  
“nine miles down the river, with the noise of its  
“cataract, in the calmness of a summer evening,  
“blending with the hum of the busymen of the city  
“beneath, and the noise of the mariner, as he loaded  
“or unloaded his bark at the wharves below, mingled  
“together, creating a sound far from unpleasant.  
“Quebec, from that height, and at that time, to us,  
“was peculiarly interesting. The quaint and foreign  
“style of its architecture; the massy and compact

“material of which its houses were built; its numerous churches and glittering spires; its population—their looks, their manners and their language—seemed not to belong to America. Nor did its wall-environed city, defended by numerous cannons and garrisoned by troops, having the discipline, the arms, and the gorgeous costume of Europe—foreign in language, features, and in origin, from the great mass of the people whom they have been sent, not to defend, but to oppress; the red-cross flag of Britain flying above our heads, showed, had we before been ignorant of the matter, what power held it in subjection. The numerous vessels unlading troops and military stores, were pointed out to us in one place, while at another, accompanied by martial music whose strains could be distinctly heard, we could see detachments of the red-coat regulars embarking for the upper country, to again crush an attempt at insurrection, which the Governor of Upper Canada feared was about to take place. Pleased at the sight we had seen, and struck with its beauty, the half-hour destined for our exercise soon slipped past, and we had to return to our lone dark room, to await for the next twenty-four hours, the time again to come, that we might enjoy the same prospect.”

#### THE GREAT FIRES.

Seven years after the escape of Theller and Dodge, when the country had become politically quiet, and all the “patriots” had been either hanged or appointed to office, Quebec again became a place of note. On the 28th of May, 1845, the

day being scorchingly hot, with a high wind and clouds of dust rushing along the roads, the bells of the churches of St. Roch rang out the well-known alarm of fire. A large tannery, in St. Vallier streets, was in a blaze, and the roofs of the adjoining houses, covered with shingles, heated almost to the point of ignition by the sun, the immediate application of fire to make them also burn was scarcely necessary. For nearly an hour the fire was confined to the tannery; but about mid-day, the wind increased and carried the burning embers far and wide. The houses on the cliff above caught; below in the suburb of St. Roch several houses, situated much apart from each other, simultaneously began to burn; the heat and the wind more and more increased; the narrow streets were filled with people rushing madly to and fro, removing articles of furniture to some supposed place of safety; fire-engines were being hurled along from place to place as fast as horses could gallop; carts rattled about, loaded and unloaded; vehicles of all descriptions were mixed up with men, women, and children; soldiers were tearing down houses, if possible to arrest the progress of the devouring element; but still, lifted up by the wind, the fire leaped into other streets, and far away to leeward the red plague was seen bursting up through the wooden roofs and the planked roads; overhead and on every side there was fire. It was only arrested at six in the evening, by the blowing up of two houses in the Rue Canoterie, near Hope Gate, the whole of the populous suburb of St. Roch having been destroyed. Nearly for a mile

was one mass of flames. Churches, shipyards, everything had been burnt over. Next day, many half consumed bodies lay about, and also the carcasses of a great number of horses and cattle. This was surely a calamitous enough occurrence for one year; but Providence had ordained it otherwise. On the same day of the following month of June, at midnight, the cry of fire again arose. In a house not far from St. John's Gate, a conflagration had begun, which was not to be ended until the whole of St. John suburb met the fate which St. Roch had already experienced. The weather was still hot, and simultaneously through the houses or from roofs the flames rose high into the air, sweeping up, as far as the toll gate, one side of St. John street, and the whole of George and the other streets to the Cime du Cap, above St. Roch, then spreading slowly upwards towards St. Lewis suburb, by daybreak, in spite of the repeated blowing up of houses with gun-powder, scarce a vestige of the suburb remained, except the chimnies of what once were houses. The very tombstones in the church-yard were defaced, and the head-boards destroyed.

In these two fires sixteen thousand people were burned out; £560,000 worth of property destroyed, and upwards of forty human beings perished. Insurance had been effected to the amount of 125,000 or \$500,000. A Relief committee was promptly formed. The Merchants and some of the public institutions subscribed largely towards the relief of the sufferers: and appeals were made to England, the United States, and indeed to the world, for aid,

which was promptly afforded, upwards of £100,000 having been subscribed. The Queen caused charity sermons to be preached throughout the United Kingdom, and showed an example herself by munificently subscribing towards the relief fund. In a very short time, the suburbs were rebuilt in a more substantial manner, and the streets widened and otherwise improved; bricks and stones were used in building instead of wood, and two suburbs have arisen upon the ruins of the former ones, pleasant to look upon.

In June of the following year, the riding school, attached to the Chateau St. Louis, which had been converted into a Theatre, was destroyed by fire during the exhibition of Harrison's Diorama, and no less than 45 persons, many of whom were people of good standing in society, lost their lives.

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## PART II.

### THE TOURIST'S GUIDE.

#### Chapter V.

A Drive—The Cemetery—Marine Hospital—"Chien D'Or"—Churches—Church of England—Presbyterian Churches—Wesleyan, Congregational, and Baptist Churches—St. Patrick's Church—Roman Catholic Cathedral—University of Laval—Water-Works—The Music Hall—The Court House—Parliament House—Hotels—Literary Institutions—Montmorenci—Lunatic Asylum at Beauport—Lorette—The Chaudière—Lake St. Charles—Ste. Anne.

The stranger on arriving in Quebec, will take care to visit first the citadel; then Cap Rouge, taking by the way, a glimpse at the old French fortifications, outside of the citadel glacis, a glance at the shipping from the brink of the precipice; examine one of the Martello towers on the left as he passes, then wander down to Bonner's field and there see the spot where Wolfe died, and the monument raised to commemorate the circumstance and place, see the well, not far distant from which he last drank, enter Marchmont, the residence of John Gilmour, Esquire, on the site of the redoubt, that guarded the pass by which Wolfe's army ascended the Plains of Abraham, formerly the property of Major General Sir John Harvey, who served as Adjutant General of the Forces during the American war; see Spencer Wood, the residence of the Governor General; Woodfield, the seat



of James Gibb, Esquire ; and then stroll through one of the most picturesque, as it is one of the most extensive, cemeteries in the world, "Mount Hermon," laid out by an American gentleman—Major Douglas,—32 acres in extent, and commanding at every turn of its paths a distinct and magnificent view. In this "City of Silence" lie the bones of the once celebrated John Wilson, the Scottish vocalist, and the Reverend Daniel Wilkie, LL.D., one of the ablest preceptors of youth this country has ever known, and to whom monuments have been erected by subscription.

At Point à Pizeau a road leads down to Sillery Cove, where the massacre occurred. Near by, is an old stone house, formerly occupied by the heroine of "Emily Montague," near which are the ruins of what was once a large stone chapel. Opposite the cemetery—we had almost forgotten to mention it—there is a church of the Church of England, built of stone, and of rather an agreeable exterior. It was consecrated in 1856, by His Lordship the Bishop of Fredericton. A mile beyond, is the villa of Kilgrastin, formerly the property of the Rev. Dr. Mills, chaplain to the garrison. Let the ride then be continued towards the church of St. Foy, from which may be obtained one of the most beautiful panoramic landscape views anywhere to be met with. At a glance may be seen the villages of Ancienne Lorette, Indian Lorette, Charlebourg, Beauport, and the Island of Orleans, with the river St. Charles, meandering through a fertile valley, whose sides rise gradually to the wood-covered mountains. As the town is

approached, the General Hospital and the Marine Hospital will come into view. Charlevoix considered the first mentioned as the finest house in Canada, and one that would be no disparagement to the largest house in France. One hundred thousand crowns were expended by M. de St. Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, on the building, furniture, and foundations, who bought the ground on which it stands from the Recollet Fathers. The Marine Hospital was erected for the reception of sailors and others landing in Quebec, afflicted with disease. It stands upon a bend of the river St. Charles, near where Jacques Cartier wintered in 1535, and held conversation with Donnacona, the Indian Lord of Canada. The foundation stone was laid by Lord Aylmer, in 1832, and the building, which cost £23,000, or \$92,000, was opened in 1834. A wing has since been added, and the structure is one of the most admirably situated—except in a sanitary point of view—and one of the most handsome of the many public edifices in the city. The exterior is of the Ionic order of architecture, the proportions being taken from the Temple of the Muses, near Athens. It contains catholic and protestant chapels, and it contains apartments for the officiating clergymen, the matron, steward, and nurses, and wards for about 620 patients, besides having kitchens, store rooms, and baths. There is a wide entrance hall, a number of examining rooms for the use of the physicians, an operating theatre, and a museum; and ample promenade grounds, encircled by a stone wall and iron railing, for convalescents. The entire premises contains an area of six acres.

The resident surgeon is Dr. Lemieux.

The institution is supported by a tax of one penny a ton levied on each vessel arriving from sea, and a proportion of the tax upon emigration.

After this ride, the excursionist will do well to take a walk on Durham Terrace, greatly improved and enlarged by the Honorable, now Mr. Justice Chabot, when that gentleman held the situation of Chief Commissioner of Public Works. The nature of the prospect may be gathered from the fact that the "platform" stands on the site of what formerly was the Chateau St. Louis, destroyed by fire in 1834, and for centuries the residence of the Governors of Canada.

Close to this walk, is the "Chien d'Or," or Golden Dog, over the door of the Post Office immediately above the steps leading from the Upper to the Lower Town. It is the representation of a dog in relief, gnawing a bone, under which are the following lines :—

"Je suis vn chien qvi ronge mon os  
En le rongeant, je prends mon repos,  
Vn jowr viendra qvi n'est pas encore venu,  
Ov je mordrai celvi qvi m'avra mordv."

It is said that this house was built by a Mr. Philbert, who had formerly been a merchant in Bourdeaux, and who lived in Quebec in 1712 when Bigot was Intendant. Bigot was exceedingly avaricious, and made exorbitant drafts on the Treasury of his native country, until one of the Queens of France began to suspect that the walls of Quebec were being not indirectly but directly built of gold. The figure of the dog and the inscription

were aimed by Philbert at Bigot, and so exasperated him that, it is said, he procured a person to assassinate Philbert. At all events, an officer of the garrison, stabbed the author of the lampoon as he was in the act of descending the Lower Town steps, who was pursued by Philbert's brother to Pondicherry in the East Indies, and there slain in turn. This story, the late Mr. Christie, in a note to his history of Canada, asserts to be fabulous on the authority of Mr. Viger who had investigated the matter.

To the west of Hope Gate, is the building once occupied by Montcalm.

## CHURCHES.

There are now in Quebec five churches of the Church of England, the Cathedral Church near the Place d'Armes, opposite Durham Terrace; Trinity Chapel in St. Stanislas Street, near the Artillery Barracks; St. Mathews Chapel, at the Burying Ground, St. John Street, suburbs; St. Peter's Church, in Vallier Street, St. Roch; and the Mariner's Church, Champlain Street; one in St. Anne Street, in connection with the Church of Scotland, and Chalmer's, or the Free Church, in Ursule Street; one Methodist Church in St. Stanislas Street, near the gaol; one Congregational Church in Palace Street; one Baptist Church in St. Helen Street; one Jewish Synagogue in Garden Street; and about 10 Roman Catholic Churches: the Parish Church or Cathedral in the Market Place, Upper Town; the Seminary Chapel, the Ursuline Chapel, the Hotel Dieu Chapel, St. Pa-

trick's Church; the Church in the Lower Town of Notre Dame des Victoires; the Church in St. Roch Suburbs; the Church at Boisseauville; the Congregational Church, Esplanade; and the Church at the Cholera Burying Ground.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF THE CHURCH OF  
ENGLAND.

This edifice is one of the most perfect and pleasing specimens of Canadian architecture. Although not much ornamented, the keeping is correct. Built upon an elevated spot, the steeple, which is of considerable height, being covered with tin, is a very conspicuous mark, and one of the objects most prominent in every discernible view of the city. The grand entrance is on the west; and the interior is neat and commodious, having extensive galleries on the front and sides. It is furnished with a powerful organ of sweet and melodious tune.

To an observer, the whole situation appears light and graceful, which is increased by the glittering roof and spire. The walls are of grey sandstone. In length, it extends forty five yards, by twenty five yards in breadth; including a considerable interstice for the altar, and a capacious vestibule. The chief front, with a spacious area is in Garden Street.

The church was consecrated in 1804. The communion plate which is very magnificent, was presented by George III, as well as the books for divine service and the altar cloth. Within the altar, beneath which are the remains of the Duke of

Richmond, a former Governor General who died of hydrophobia, are two marble monuments, one to the late Dr. Mountain, first Bishop of Quebec, and the other to the Honorable and Right Reverend Dr. Stewart, his successor. There are besides a few other handsome monuments around the church.

The Rectory to which a small chapel is attached is within the enclosure, and is occupied by His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, a man of great learning and of exemplary piety.

Morning service begins at half-past ten o'clock, as well in this as in all the other churches of the Church of England in Quebec.

#### THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The pulpit of this church is at present occupied by one of the most learned, talented, and eloquent preachers of the Gospel in this city. A Church of Scotland has existed in Quebec since 1759; but it was not until the sum of £1,547 having been subscribed a church was built in St. Anne street, and set apart for the ordinances of christian worship on the 30th November, 1810, by the late Reverend Dr. Spark, who was succeeded by the late Dr. Harkness. It accommodates about 1500 sitters. In 1821, it was enlarged.

#### CHALMER'S, OR THE FREE CHURCH.

This is a very beautiful specimen of church architecture, built in 1852, and situated in St. Ursule Street. It was the scene of the Gavazzi riot. The pulpit is at present ably filled by the pious and learned Reverend William Clark. The church accommodates about 900 sitters.

In the Presbyterian Churches, and indeed in all protestant churches, the church of England excepted, service begins simultaneously.

#### THE WESLEYAN CHURCH.

Is a very imposing and large edifice of cut stone with gothic pinnacles in St. Stanislas Street, adjoining the jail. The Wesleyan Methodists had a chapel formerly in St. Anne Street, and one in the Lower Town for the edification of seamen, the former being erected in 1816, but it was not until 1850 that means were found to build the present fine building, and procure an excellent organ with which to praise the Lord of Hosts. It accommodates over 1600 people, and the pulpit is at present filled by the Reverend Mr. Ryerson, brother of the gifted and learned Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada.

#### CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

This is a neat, but externally unpretending building in Palace Street, nearly opposite Russell's Hotel. Internally, it has been comfortably furnished after the manner of the New York churches, and the commandments and texts of Scripture are painted on the walls.

#### BAPTIST CHURCH.

This Church is situated at the upper gate leading to the barracks of the Royal Artillery, near St. John's Gate. It was erected in 1854 by an earnest

but not by any means a wealthy or numerous Congregation. The pulpit is, however, most respectably filled by a scholar and sincere christain, as he is a pleasing and instructive preacher.—the Rev. David Marsh.

#### ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH.

The Irish Catholics of Quebec, with the aid of their Protestant fellow citizens built the Church which is situated in St. Helene Street, in 1832. It was dedicated in 1833, amid the hearty rejoicings and the thanksgivings of a generous people.

It is a fine substantial building, and originally covered an area of 136 by 62; but has been twice enlarged since then. The Congregation have very recently erected a large and externally handsome Presbytery or Parsonage house for their parish priests, in St. Stanislas Street.

#### THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL.

The largest and internally the most magnificent of all the Churches in the city, is that which stands in the Upper Town Market Place, 216 feet long and about 180 broad, called "The Church of the Immaculate Conception," when consecrated by the first Bishop of Quebec in 1666. It is divided into a nave and two aisles. At the upper end is the grand altar; and in the side aisles are four chapels dedicated to different saints.

During the siege of Quebec in 1759, this Church was set on fire by shells, which were discharged from the batteries on Pointe Levi, and all its Paintings and other ornaments were consumed, except



the first mentioned in the following catalogue, but which was, when found among the ruins, so essentially injured, that the labor of the artist we found necessary to restore the parts that had been mutilated :—

1. The Altar piece, portraying the Conception.
2. On the north is a representation of Paul, in his extatic vision—by Carlo Maratti.
3. On the opposite wall, is a design—The Saviour ministered unto by angels—by Restoul.
4. The painting above the altar in the south nave, is a copy of the middle painting over the altar of the Seminary Chapel.
5. On the pillar above the pulpit is a delineation of the Redeemer on the Cross—by Vandyke.
6. On the opposite pillar is—The Nativity of Christ.
7. The Saviour under the contumelious outrages of the soldiers—by Flavet.
8. The day of Pentecost—by Vignon.
9. The Holy family—by Blanozon.

There are besides, other paintings of less interest and value.

All the catholic churches deserve a visit from the intelligent stranger, but the painter or connoisseur in paintings, except in the Seminary and Hotel Dieu Chapels, will find little to interest him elsewhere than in the Cathedral, the other churches of Quebec in which there was anything old having unfortunately been also purified by fire.

#### THE UNIVERSITY OF LAVAL.

This institution named after its founder, was raised from the status of a seminary to that of a University in 1854 by Queen Victoria. It adjoins the Seminary, and has a large garden in front, and a spacious play-ground in the rear or town side of

the Seminary. Collegiate buildings are at present in course of erection on a very magnificent scale, the medical college being finished. Formerly, the institution was divided into two branches distinguished as the "Grand Seminaire" and the Petit Seminaire. The Grand Seminaire is now the Collegiate institution in which Latin, French, Mathematics, Belles-Lettres, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Drawing, Anatomy, Physiology, and a host of other "ophies" and "ologies" are taught. The Archbishop used to reside in the Seminary, as did Laval himself for the last twenty years of his earthly existence; but since then, a new palace has been raised and His Grace and his coadjutor enjoy themselves in a palatial edifice in rear of the Cathedral, built in 1849, which has also accommodations for upwards of 100 clergymen, and contains besides the portraits of some dozen (baker's or otherwise) of his predecessor's portraits, the best collection of paintings, by eminent painters, to be found in the country.

But to return to the Seminary. It was founded by Monseigneur de Laval de Montmorenci, in 1636, during whose lifetime the buildings were twice burned. Originally intended only for the education of catholic clergymen, it now educates all who are sent to it, even in the higher branches of education, for the very moderate sum of £12 10s, a year, if boarded, and for only 5s. or 10s. if not.

The teachers, who are ecclesiastics, receive no remuneration for their service; but the medical and other professors are of course paid.

The library of this institution contains 9,000 volumes, and is, it is needless to say, very interesting.

In the museum there are a valuable collection of philosophical instruments, besides fossils, minerals, Indian curiosities, &c.

#### WATER WORKS.

Quebec is amply supplied with good water for all purposes from the Lake St. Charles, above the cataract at Lorette, through an 18 inch iron pipe. The capacious reservoir, which is situated about a mile above the Indian village, merits inspection.

The drainage of the town is excellent, and indeed some hundreds of thousands of pounds have since 1854 been expended on water and sewerage.

A healthier city is not now to be found on the whole continent of America.

#### THE MUSIC HALL.

This is a very large and handsome stone building, used as a theatre, a concert room, or a ball room, and situated in St. Lewis street. After the destruction of the Parliament buildings, in 1854, it was used as the place of meeting for the Legislative Assembly, and the voice of William Lyon Mackenzie has been reverberated against its walls, as well as the rather sweeter voices of Madame Anna Bishop and the "Black Swan."

#### THE COURT HOUSE

Stands upon the ground on which the Recollets' church partly stood, in St. Lewis street.

It is a plain and not too commodious a building for the purpose intended, which is therein to bring all civil and criminal suits of the district. Its length is 45 yards, and its breadth as many feet; but it was added to in 1853, and in the Court of Appeals room sat the Legislative Council or Upper House of Parliament.

## PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

A large new building on the site of the palace of the French Bishop, stands immediately inside of Prescott Gate. Within these walls were lately the whole collective wisdom of the province.

## HOTELS.

There is our own—the best of course—commonly called Russell's Hotel, but more particularly "The "Albion"—O'Neill's and Peacock's; and many others of lesser magnitude. Ours is in Palace street; the others in Lewis street. We may be permitted to say that no where in Canada is better hotel accommodation to be had than in Quebec.

## EDUCATIONAL AND LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

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## HIGH SCHOOL.

One of the best educational institutions in Canada is the High School of Quebec. It owes its origin to the Reverend Dr. Cook of St. Andrew's Church, who has been the Chairman of the Directors since its commencement, and has taken a warm and active interest in whatever could conduce to its efficiency and success.

The first Rector was the late Reverend Daniel Wilkie, LL. D. who died in 1852, and the present Rector is W. S. Smith Esquire, an excellent classical scholar, and an earnest and persevering teacher. The other teachers are Mr. Wilkie, nephew of the former Rector, an able and attentive teacher and well informed man; Mr. Johnson, highly spoken of for his abilities and learning; and Mr. Berger, a French gentleman, who carefully conveys to the young idea a knowledge of the Bergerian mother-wit.

There are altogether 19 schools, public and private, boys and girls.

The first school in Canada was kept by Father Lejeune, at Quebec, in 1632. The pupils were anything but numerous, when the establishment was first opened. There were only a Negro lad and an Indian boy to be taught the rudiments of French, and to be initiated in the art of putting language upon paper with the pen. Lejeune was not, however, disheartened by the unpromising aspect of a first attempt in a new world to instruct the ignorant. On the contrary, he wrote to some friends in France, concerning his school, in very hopeful terms. A chair in Du Bac at Paris, would not have tempted him to have relinquished his project of imparting the most elementary knowledge to the most primitive child of nature. He was enthusiastic and he succeeded. Next year he had twenty pupils and his school was the foundation of the famous Jesuits' College, a school of learning which, when suppressed in 1776, and the buildings converted into soldiers' barracks, was numerous attended, in which the course of study had been

similar to that of the college of Louis-le-Grand, in Paris, and which had produced several men of note.

#### LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

This Society was founded by Lord Dalhousie in 1824, and united in 1829 to that for the promotion of Arts and Sciences, contained the most valuable ornithological, mineralogical, and botanical specimens of any institution in the province, and has a most excellent library; but it suffered loss during the fire which consumed the late Parliament buildings, in which the Museum and the Library were in 1854.

The Library, Museum, &c. are now in Henderson's buildings, near Chalmer's Church, corner of St. Ursule and St. Lewis Streets.

There is an exceedingly fine library in the possession of "The Quebec Library Association" founded so early as 1779, by General Haldimand, and which now contains at least six thousand volumes. The rooms are in St. Anne Street, opposite the Church of England Cathedral.

If all these places are visited in one day, the stranger, on the next, may visit the following places in the vicinity of Quebec, or as many of them as he conveniently can :

#### MONTMORENCI.

The justly celebrated Falls of Montmorenci constitute an object of inspection with every visitor of Quebec. In clear weather, much enjoyment is realized from the ride, as an opportunity is afforded to examine the soil, modes of agriculture and habits of life of the Canadian farmers; and also of viewing

Quebec and its environs, in a novel aspect. It is generally conceded, that the Falls, when the river is full, is the most magnificent object in the Province—being replete with beauty and sublime grandeur. The breadth of the stream at the brink is about twenty-five yards, and the velocity of the water in its descent is increased by a continual declivity from some distance above. With the exception of a large rock near the middle of the bed, the whole is one compact sheet of foam, which is discharged, almost perpendicularly, at the depth of nearly eighty yards, into a reservoir among the rocks below.

The prodigious depth of their descent, the brightness and volubility of their course, the swiftness of movement from the basin swelling with incessant agitation from the weight of the dashing waters, forcibly rivet the attention, and highly elevate the mind of the spectator. From the same spot, there is a lucid and beauteous prospect of Quebec, with its encircling scenery ; and with an ordinary magnifying glass, the observer can discern all the prominent objects—the steeples, towers, fortifications, principal edifices, the shipping, the course of the St. Lawrence until it is lost among the hills, Point Levi and its vicinity—the north side of the Island of Orleans—the point of Ange Gardien—and the shores of the river as far as Cape Tourment. Some vestiges of General Wolfe's battery still remain.

At a considerable distance above the Falls, the channel of the river is contracted between high vertical rocks, and the water rushes with proportionate velocity. In one part, at about five miles from the bridge, cascades of three and four yards

in depth are adjacent to two fine geological curiosities, familiarly denominated the "Natural Steps," which appear to have been formed by the attrition of the stream, occasioned by the melting of the snows and the augmented rapidity of the flood. Many of these steps are so regular, that they almost develope the process of human art. The perpendicular attitude of the rocks on the east side—the tree crowned summit—the uniformity of appearance resembling an ancient castle wall in ruins—the precipices on the western bank—and the foaming noisy current pourtray a romantic wildness which is very attractive. Observers are amply remunerated for their walk, as conjoined with this interesting object, they witness the continuous descent and the accelerating force and celerity with which the river is propelled to the point whence it is precipitated into the St. Lawrence.

The Mansion House, which is situated close to the Fall—exactly over which an elegant suspension bridge, at the height of some 80 or 90 feet hung like a spider's web, but the towers of which now only remain, as it gave way in the spring of 1856, when a man and a woman in a cart, and a boy walking, were upon it, who were all precipitated into the cauldron below—was built by General Haldimand the last Governor of the Province of Quebec. It was afterwards occupied by His Royal Highness, Prince Edward Duke of Kent, the father of the Queen, and the room in which he slept can yet be pointed out. The house is at present in the possession of G. B. Hall Esquire, the proprietor of the extensive saw mills at the foot of the Falls.



## THE BEAUPORT ASYLUM FOR THE INSANE.

This Asylum, lighted by gas, and having a gas cooking apparatus, contained in 1852, 80 male and 78 female patients. The following notice of it is from Warburton's "Hochelaga, or England in "the New World."

The Lunatic Asylum for Lower Canada has been for sometime established at Beauport five miles from Quebec. Three eminent medical men of this city, have undertaken it, under charter from the Provincial Government, which makes an annual allowance for the support of the public patients.

The establishment consists of a large house occupied by the able Superintendent and his family, where as a reward for good conduct some of the convalescents are occasionally admitted. Behind this is a range of buildings forming two sides of a square, the remaining enclosure of the space being made with high palings. These structures stand in a commanding situation, with a beautiful view of Quebec, and the broad basin of the river.

A farm of a hundred and sixty acres is attached to them.

The system of this excellent institution is founded on kindness. No force or coercion of any kind is employed; the patients are allowed to mix freely, work, or pursue whatever may be the bent of their inclinations. They dine together at a well-supplied table. On one side of the dining hall are the apartments of the female patients, on the other those of the males. They each consist of a large well ventilated room, scrupulously clean,

with a number of sleeping wards off it; over head is also a large sleeping apartment

## LORETTE.

One of the most agreeable excursions in the vicinity of Quebec is that to the Indian village and Lake Charles. The driver should be directed to change his route on the return, so as to pass by the eastern bank of the river, and thus the varying scenery is partially changed.

After a considerable ascent, at four miles distance from Quebec, the traveller arrives at Charlebourg, a very conspicuous village, comprising about 90 houses, thence the western route conducts to Lorette, and the easterly course to Lake Beauport, the ride to which is amply compensated by the diversified landscape.

The Indian village is about eight miles from the city, built upon an elevated situation, whence there is an extensively varied and agreeable landscape, in many points similar to that from Cape Diamond, but also including some attractive novelties of outline. It exhibits a bold and beautiful view of Quebec and its suburbs, and in the extent, it is bounded solely by the distant southern mountains.

At this village is a charming view of the river St. Charles, tumbling and foaming over the rocks and ledges to a great depth, near which is a Paper Mill, &c. The rugged and perpendicularly elevated cliffs, in connection with the impetuous rush of the waters, although circumscribed in extent, and therefore affording no expanded prospect in imme-

diate front, yet, as seen from the Saw Mills, and from the bank and bridge at the head of the dell, in its different positions and aspects, constitute an object, which, when contrasted with the more majestic cataract of Montmorenci, and the Chaudière, or recollected in combination with them, furnishes in memorial, an addition to the varieties which those stupendous natural curiosities embody

## THE CHAUDIERE.

A poetic observer standing on the margin of the river near the Falls, might easily transmute the Grecian imagery chanted by the Roman into actual scene before him; and can almost fancy without any peculiar and visionary flights of the imagination, that he beholds around him the principal and most solitary dell of the ancient immortalized Tempe.

"Est nemus Haemoniae prærupta undique claudit  
 "Silva; vocant Tempe. Per quæ, Peneus ab imo  
 "Effusus Pindo, spumosis volvitur undis  
 "Dejectuque, gravi tenues agitantia fumos,  
 "Nubila, conducit summasque aspergine sylvas  
 "Inpluit; et sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat."

The river at the Cascade is much compressed, being only about 400 feet across; and the depth into the *Pot*, as it is usually termed, is nearly 45 yards. Many rocks divide the stream, precisely at the Fall, into three chief currents of which the westerly is the largest—these partially re-unite before their broken and agitated waves are received into the basin, where each dashing against the other maintains a turbulent whirlpool. The form of the

rock forces a part of the waters into an oblique direction, advancing them beyond the line of the precipice, while the cavities of the rocks increase the foaming fury of the revolving waters in their descent, displaying globular figures of brilliant whiteness, while the ascending spray developes all the varieties of the colored cloudy arch, and enlivens the beauty of the landscape. The wild diversity of rocks, the foliage of the overhanging woods, the rapid motion, the effulgent brightness, and the deeply solemn sound of the cataracts, all combine to present a rich assemblage of objects highly attractive, especially when the visitor emerging from the wood, is instantaneously surprised by the delightful scene. Below, the view is greatly changed, and Falls produce an additionally strong and vivid impression.

The railway tubular bridge, about a mile above the Falls, is a very fine one, and worth inspection.

#### LAKE ST. CHARLES.

The distance from Lorette to the Lake is nearly six miles, and speedily after leaving the villages the grand prospect and the traces of civilization and human existence become comparatively "faint, "and few and far between." On the return from the Lake, the effect is instantaneous. Emerging at once by the turn of the hill, from deep solitude and a compact forest, into all the expanse of the extended variegated landscape, discernible at the foot of the exterior mountain, the traveller is enraptured with a display of aboriginal and cultivated drapery, to which memory ever delights to recur.

The Lake is an enchanting picture; and those who have beheld some of the more renowned European inland waters, have asserted, that it develops imagery, little inferior in natural beauty and creative decoration to those reservoirs which history and poetry have consecrated to perennial remembrance. Upon a calm summer's day, when in the season the forest displays its numberless lights and shades, and the mountain, wood and waters, all repose in undisturbed calmness, the quietude of the scene exactly harmonizes with the placidness of a good conscience. If the beholder there recalled Henry Kirk White to his memory, he might justly and feelingly soliloquize in the strains of the lamented bard :

"And oh! how sweet this scene o'erhung with wood,  
"That winds the margin of the solemn flood?  
"What rural objects steal upon the sight—  
"What varied views prolong the calm delight!  
"Above, below, where'er I turn my eyes,  
"Rocks, waters, woods, in grand succession rise!"

In outline, Lake St. Charles is very irregular—it is rather more than four miles in length; but its greatest breadth does not exceed one mile; and it is subdivided by a narrow strait, into nearly equal portions. Embosomed between elevated hills, its shores are clothed with that density of wood and diversified foliage, which are so universal in North America; and the peaks and tops of some of the more distant northern mountains are singularly varied in their configurations, and from their height are exhibited in a very imposing aspect. The points of land which occasionally stretch into the lake are covered with shrubs and a species of trees;

while abrupt rocky bluffs, and small swampy bays alternately present to the amateur and man of science a rich display of ornament, and materials for geological and botanical research.

## ST. ANNE.

From Montmorenci, the ride proceeds to Chateau Richer, or the ruins of a Franciscan Monastery, built about one hundred and thirty years since.

About two miles from Chateau Richer, the visitor should halt, and walk a short distance to the Sault à la Puce, a small stream descending from the high lands, which often winding through a mountainous and woody country, comprises some very romantic falls, where the stream is precipitated in three declivities in succession, and the banks are rich in profusion of sylvan ornaments, and especially when the autumnal foliage displays its multiplied variety of beauteous tints.

Thence the route leads to St. Anne; and two miles beyond the village, at twenty eight miles distance from Quebec, the traveller proceeds to visit those interesting Falls. The road ascends a part of the way up the mountain—there are seen splendid prospects of Quebec and the adjacent country—but without a glass, from the distance, the scenery in the back ground is rather indistinct. Having attained a level, a rough path for nearly a mile and a half conducts the visitor after a sudden descent into a most solitary vale of rocks and trees, almost a natural grotto, through the centre of which the stream rushes, until it escapes by a narrow channel between the rocks, and continues roaring

and tumbling with augmenting velocity. From below, there is a striking view of the cataract, which combined with the natural wildness and extraordinary features of the scenery baffle description; the painter alone could convey to the mind the representation with effect.

The scenery around the Priests' Farm near Cape Tourment, is very attractive, and the site of the Valley and Falls of Fercole will compensate for the fatigue experienced in descending to them. To complete the excursion, the visitor should arrange, if possible, to stand on Cape Tourment in the morning, there to behold the sun emerging from the horizon. From this bold bluff, nearly six hundred yards above the river St Lawrence, to the east, south and west is presented a diversified landscape, which includes every variety that the painter can embody.—Mountain and valley, wilderness, and cultivation, land and water, with their appurtenances and ornaments.

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## Chapter VI.

Pleasures of the Trip—The St. Lawrence and the watering places  
—Island of Orleans—Crane Island—Kamouraska—Cacou-  
na—Entrance of the Saguenay—Price & Co—Lake St.  
John—The Crops—Mode of Travelling—The Perikoba—  
Russell's Report on the Saguenay Country.

### THE LOWER ST. LAWRENCE.

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#### THE SAGUENAY.

To the mere pleasure seeker or the man of science there can be nothing more refreshing and delightful, nothing affording more food for reflection or scientific observation, than a trip to that most wonderful of all rivers, the Saguenay. On the way thither, the scenery of the Lower St. Lawrence is extraordinarily picturesque. A broad expanse of water interspersed with rugged solitary islets, highly cultivated islands, and islands covered with trees to the water's edge, hemmed in by lofty and precipitous mountains, on the one side, and by a continuous street of houses, relieved by beautifully situated villages, the spires of whose tin-covered churches glitter in the sunshine, cultivated fields and lowing herds behind, and the forset-clad mountain range, which divides the waters flowing into the St. John from those that flow into the St. Lawrence, visible, in the distance, on the other, affords a prospect so enchanting that were nothing else to be seen the tourist would be well repaid for the inconsiderable expenditure in time and money, which the trip to the lower St. Lawrence involves ;



but when, in addition to all this the tourist suddenly passes from a landscape unsurpassed for beauty into a region of primitive grandeur, where art has done nothing and nature everything—when, at a single bound, civilisation is left behind and nature stares him in the face, in naked majesty—when he sees alps on alps arise—when he floats over unfathomable depths, through a mountain gorge—the sublime entirely overwhelms the sense of sight and fascinates the imagination. The change produced upon the thinking part of man, in passing from the broad St. Lawrence into the seemingly narrow and awfully deep Saguenay, whose waters lave the sides of the towering mountains, which almost shut out the very light of heaven, and from thence again into an ancient settlement where the piety and zeal of the Jesuit Fathers, ages ago, first planted the cross, and gave christianity to the Indians, is such as no pen can paint nor tongue describe.

An American gentleman says:—"The greater part of American tourists make a great mistake in omitting the Saguenay River. The fare on board the boat is of excellent quality, and the berths large and comfortable."

Another gentleman says:—"Before I left Rochester, on an excursion through Lake Ontario, and down the St. Lawrence, I was advised not to let slip a favourable opportunity, if one should offer, after my arrival in Quebec, for making a visit to the Saguenay, and looking for myself upon the bold, rugged and very remarkable scenery along its rock-bound shores. Such an opportunity fortunately was not wanting; and after I had spent

"five days in Quebec—days of great interest to me—  
"visiting places most deserving attention in and  
"about that wonderful city—famous in the world's  
"history, about which I had read, with thrilling  
"interest, when I was yet a boy, and of Wolfe climb-  
"ing the heights of Abraham, to fight and conquer,  
"and die—'The Gibraltar of the western continent'  
"and the capital of the British American provinces;  
"learning that the Steamer *Saguenay*, Captain  
"Simard, would leave next morning on a pleasure  
"excursion down the St. Lawrence and up the  
"Saguenay, of which I had heard so much, and from  
"which the good steamer received very appropriate-  
"ly her name, I lost no time in making arrangements  
"for the trip, and through the courtesy of the agent  
"John Laird, Esquire, and of Captain Simard, and  
"others, both on the boat and elsewhere, I have  
"made the trip with great comfort and pleasure."

#### THE ST. LAWRENCE AND WATERING PLACES.

On the south side of the St. Lawrence, a ridge commences nearly one hundred miles below Quebec, which taking a south-west direction and passing opposite that city, crosses the boundary line between Canada and the United States, and continues until it meets with the Hudson River. Beyond this ridge at about the distance of 50 miles is another and a higher one, commencing at Cape Rosier, the bold headland at the mouth of the Saint Lawrence on the south or, in a military point of view, left bank of the river, which runs in a direction nearly parallel with the river, and with the other chain, terminating upon the eastern

branch of the river Connecticut, after a course of nearly four hundred miles. This is the ridge which divides Canada from the United States, and the waters that flow into the Atlantic from those that fall into the St. Lawrence.

Upon the northern shores of the St. Lawrence, Canada is bounded by the rugged steeps, called by Sir W. Logan, the Laurentine mountains, running close to the river, and forming its banks for upwards of 100 miles. The most remarkable of these heights is Cape Tourment, situated only about twenty five miles below Quebec. This ridge from Cape Tourment, takes a west south west direction for 300 miles, terminating on the river Ottawa, about 120 miles above its confluence with the St. Lawrence. Beyond this ridge is another and a higher, dividing the waters that flow into the St. Lawrence from those that find their way to Hudson's Bay. This last mentioned ridge is a hundred miles, or thereabouts, north of Quebec.

This is the wilderness region, which to the northward meets the eye of the traveller as he leaves Quebec for the Saguenay, bidding

"Adieu to cursed streets of stairs."

The Falls of Montmorenci gradually appear, and are distinctly visible in their usual grandeur, and the voice of the mingling waters scarcely dies upon the ear when leaving Quebec, with her imposing citadel 350 feet high, and tin covered cupolas and roofs, the eye rests upon a new harbour to the right filled with vessels of the largest tonnage, chiefly the property of a single mercantile firm distinguished

for enterprise and industry. The river about five miles below Quebec is divided into the north and south channels by the Isle of Orleans, twenty-one miles long and five broad, celebrated for its apples, plums and pears, and originally called the Isle of Bacchus by Jacques Cartier, on account of the number of wild vines which in 1535 he saw upon it. This island has good roads, contains five parishes, three being on the south side, and the churches and tidy villages of St. Laurent and Saint Jean being close to the shore. Patrick's Hole, where two mammoth vessels were built twenty or more years ago, is a well sheltered cove, where outward vessels come to anchor, and await sailing orders, and over which is the highest point of the island. A villa has now been laid out on the point of the Island, some neat residences erected, and a steamboat communication maintained between the villa and Quebec. On the north side of the highest point of land on the island, the second of a chain of thirteen telegraphs, erected during the last American war, and extending from Quebec to Green Island opposite the mouth of the Saguenay, remains. The electric wire has however completely superseded the old mode of flag and ball telegraphing on land.

The Island of Orleans forms part of the county of Montmorenci, there being three counties on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, the county of Quebec, the county of Montmorenci, and the county of Saguenay, and four on the south, Bellechasse, L'Islet, Kamouraks, and Rimouski.

Both sides of the river are covered with houses of stone, covered with tin; and a parish church of no inconsiderable architectural pretension presents itself at every five miles. A few miles below Patrick's Hole on the south shore are the churches of St. Michel and St. Valier; and immediately below the island of Orleans, the river widens to eleven or twelve miles, and numerous smaller islands exhibit themselves, while Cape Tourment towers eighteen hundred feet into the sky. A few miles farther down—say 40 from Quebec—Grosse Isle, the Quarantine establishment appears, on which ten or twenty thousand immigrants lie buried, and immediately opposite on the southern bank, is the thriving village or rather town of St. Thomas, the present terminus of the Grand Trunk Railway in Lower Canada. St. Thomas lies upon the "Rivière du Sud," which meanders through one of the most beautiful, highly cultivated, and most productive tracts of country in all Canada. Over the river is a very pretty bridge.

Lower down, Crane and Little Goose Islands appear. Properly speaking, there is but one island as at low water, a connecting isthmus can be crossed in vehicles or on foot. About 12 miles in length, they are exceedingly well cultivated, and produce more than the inhabitants can consume, so that the value of the exports exceeds that of the imports, and the people are not only comfortable but rich and happy. They are sometimes called "McPherson's Island," after the Seigneur or Seigneurs, whose residence is at the north-east end of the islands. The church and village are on the north side of the island.

The church of L'Islet de St. Jean next appears on the south shore. It is somewhat romantically situated, being completely isolated at high-water from the main land. The river is here thirteen miles in width, and divided into north, middle, and south channels, by a series of islands, connected together by rocky or sandy formations, and not unlike the rich valley of the south shore of the St. Lawrence, which is intersected by ridges of gray-wacke and slate, not very high, while the granitic mountains of the north there in some parts exceed an elevation of 2,000 feet above the river. This circumstance, and that of shoals stretching out from the southern shore, narrow the deep water and form what is called "The Traverse," in which the tide runs at the rate of seven or eight knots, 55 miles below Quebec.

Coudres Island—we take what follows from the Quebec Guide Book, published by Mr. Sinclair, in 1851—is the largest below Quebec except Orleans. It was settled at a very early period, forms a parish by itself, and has a church. It is tolerably fertile, but requires its produce for its own population. It belongs to the ecclesiastics of the Seminary of Quebec, to whom it was granted in 1687. After passing the traverse, the settlements on St. Paul's Bay on the north shore, enclosed within an amphitheatre of mountains, present themselves to view. Here commences the county of Kamouraska, which fronts the river for thirty miles. The tract of country watered by the Ouelle is very productive, and regularly transports to Quebec many marketable articles. Near the entrance of the Ouelle into

the St. Lawrence a porpoise fishery is carried on to a considerable extent. The village of Kamouraska is, in summer, much enlivened by visitants, who resort to it for sea-bathing. It has the reputation of being one of the healthiest spots in the lower province. The islands off Kamouraska are of little value, being almost bare rocks. They afford shelter, however, in stormy weather to numbers of small vessels that are continually passing hereabouts. The general aspect of the country here deserves the attention of the geological observer. From the bank of the river a very level tract stretches almost to the foot of the mountainous range behind. The even surface of this tract is in various parts regularly embossed with abrupt masses of granite, varying from twenty to thirty yards of perpendicular height, and embracing a circumference of three or four acres and upwards. They are destitute of anything like a covering of soil, and produce only dwarf pine trees and creeping shrubs. On reflecting that the bed of the river is almost dry between the Kamouraska Islands and the shore at low water, and contrasting the position, appearance and striking resemblance of these isolated mounds on *terra firma* with the adjoining islands, the geologist is naturally led to the conclusion, that this level tract was at some period submerged beneath the more widely spreading of "the mighty "St. Lawrence," and that the elevations in question formed islands exposed to the action of its waters. Between Kamouraska and River du Loup, a distance of a dozen miles, lie the Pilgrims, a group of five islands. At low water carts can pass from the

mainland to this group, and the Kamouraska one. Rivière du Loup contains about 100 inhabitants, there being a larger proportion of English and Scotch than is usually found in the smaller towns of Canada east. There is an Episcopal Church here, perhaps the only one eastward of Quebec. About a mile in the rear, is a picturesque waterfall of about 80 or 100 feet. To this place and Cacouna, which lies about ten miles below, many families resort for the benefit of sea-bathing. Cacouna is a rocky peninsula, three hundred and fifty feet high, being connected with the mainland by a marshy isthmus. At Rivière du Loup commences the Grand Portage road which leads to Lake Temiscouata, a distance of 36 miles. Hence is the route *via* the Rivers Madawaska and St. John to New Brunswick, and Halifax. The situation of Du Loup is more romantic, but Cacouna has the advantages of purer and stronger water. Both command an extensive prospect of the St. Lawrence, which is here upwards of twenty miles wide, studded with islands, and bounded on the opposite shore by lofty and rugged mountains. The sojourner is enlivened by the sight of numerous large vessels constantly navigating the broad expanse. Green Island lies off Cacouna, and has a light-house sixty feet above the sea. The light is fixed, and can be seen at the distance of from twelve to seventeen miles according to the height of the observer's eye from ten to sixty feet. The light is shown from sunset to sunrise between the 15th of April and the 10th December. From this lighthouse to the lightvessels at the Traverse is fifty four miles; and for the first



thirty miles above, the river is divided into the north and south channels by numerous islets, with banks and reefs attached to them, Among these we may mention Hare Island, which is seven miles long in the direction of the River, and the Brandy Pots, off which vessels bound down, and waiting for a wind or the tide, usually rendezvous.

The recently erected wharfs on both sides of the Lower St. Lawrence are very solidly constructed. The one at Berthier is 535 feet long, 30 wide, 38 high, and has 16 to 17 feet of water when the tide is at the lowest. Dovetailed timber is filled up with boulders of no small magnitude; the top filled up with shingle; an excellent side walk of boards; and a number of useful mooring posts.

The next at l'Islet is 1200 feet long, 30 wide, 30 high, and affords a depth of 8 feet at low water.

At Rivière Ouelle the wharf is 16 feet long, 30 wide, 37 high, and 16 feet of water is to be found at low tide.

At River du Loup, an L shaped wharf like those already mentioned, affords visitors the opportunity of stepping upon *terra firma* from a steamer's gangway. It is 1650 feet in length, 30 in breadth, 38 feet high, and has 16 feet of water when the tide is at the lowest.

There are also wharfs at Malbaie and at Les Eboulements.

But we must enter the Saguenay, the cliffs on either side of which are of clay. Capes Basque, Dogs, Salmon, and Eagle are described in succession. Between Points Vaches and Alouettes, where is the junction with the St. Lawrence, the Saguenay

is two and a half miles board, and while the Saint Lawrence is only 250 feet deep, the Saguenay is a thousand. Tadousac, the first settlement of the French in Canada, is situated at the mouth of the Saguenay on a semi-circular terrace at the top of a beautiful bay with a sandy beach, and was the principal trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company. A chapel built by the Jesuits still exists here.

The rugged grandeur of the scenery increases at every turn. Cape after cape exhibits itself in naked majesty, towering into the sky, and white porpoises gamble through the inky flood below, or sleep clamy upon its surface. In a few hours, the St. Marguerite, a tributary of the Saguenay, famed for its salmon, about 15 miles up, on the right bank as the Saguenay is ascended, is passed; and then, assuredly, Alps on Alps, arise. The Petit Saguenay, where Messrs. Price & Co. have a lumbering establishment, soon appears on the left; that wonderful boulder, the Saguenay Island, resting in 200 fathoms of waters, is before us, the river or lake, for it is as certainly a lake as Lake Ontario or Lake Huron is, swells out to a breadth of 9 miles, and Capes Eternité and Trinité, the two promontories of a bay, the one 1500, and the other 1200 feet above the surface of the water, are visible. It is not long before the steamer is placed close under Eternité, when unsuccessful attempts are made to throw pennies upon the rock, and then the steamer's head is turned into the Bay, until the bowsprit seems to touch the opposite cape, which, like a bare wall, stands up from the water, and touches the very

clouds—stone enough in one lump, to build such a city as New York. Now, however, the height of the land, on both sides of the river, as it is ascended, begins to diminish, and occasional cultivated spots present themselves. Afterwards Grand Bay opens to view; the Saguenay river, proper, that is to say, the discharge of the Lake St. Jean, on which lies the new town of Chicoutimi, is passed; and the extensive lumber establishment of Messrs. W. Price & Co. is soon reached.

#### LAKE ST. JOHN

Lies directly north of L'Islet, or about 40 miles lower down than Quebec, is 50 miles broad and 50 miles long, or nearly round, the diameter being about 150 miles, the water deep in some parts and shallow in others, the bottom and beaches composed of shifting sands; the opposite land being quite invisible from any one point, and having waves 15 feet high, during an easterly wind, rolling in upon the shore. Along this lake, which abounds with every variety of fish, and which is fed by numerous and very extensive tributaries, wild peas grow in extraordinary abundance, and even the wild grape, which does not ripen however; and there are raspberries, blue berries, and cherries without end. Kuspaganish Point is the east bank of the mouth of the Belle Rivière, flowing into the Lake, the ascent, from the summit level of the Saguenay mountains, being here 500 yards.

#### THE ROUTE TO LAKE ST. JOHN.

From Grand Baie to Grand Brulé the distance is nine miles, in a north west direction. Grand Brulé

has its church, its river, and saw mill, the land is level and very fertile, and it is inhabited by about 150 families, chiefly French Canadians. From Grand Brulé to Petto's Falls, or, as it has been sometimes called, the Portage des Rochers, the distance is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and from Petto's Falls to the head of Lake Kinogomi, which is as wide as the Saguenay, and has well wooded and lofty banks, 18 miles; and from a perfect gem of a Lake, the Puikoui, a small sheet of water covering only 8 or 10 acres, the distance to Beau Portage is 6 miles and the length of the portage 1 mile, which brings the traveller to the Pericoba, a very rapid river that falls into the Kinogomi, or as its Indian name implies, Long Lake, and from thence to the Lake Kinogomishish, 6 miles in length and very deep; and separated from it only by a tongue of land, 15 yards wide, is Lac Vert. From Kinogomishish a short portage brings the traveller to Rivière des Aulnets, a meandering stream of 6 miles in length, which falls into the Belle Rivière and Falls, on the left bank of which is the colony of the Reverend Mr. Boucher, numbering about 36 souls. The Belle Rivière is 12 miles long, and on which there are three portages to the Lake St. John.

#### RECAPITULATION OF PORTAGES.

There are three portages from Chicoutimi to Petto's Falls; one portage to the Rivière des Aulnets; and three portages along the Belle Rivière to Lake St. John.

#### THE CROPS.

The fertility of the country in the neighbourhood of Lake St. John may be gathered from the fact that

at Chicoutimi a farmer has eaten barley of this year's growth made into bread ; while our informant dined with Mr. Boucher, at Belle Rivière, on new potatoes, green peas and young beans, and saw barley there 6 feet 2 inches in height ; wheat upwards of 5 feet in height ; and capital crops of oats and turnips.

#### MODE OF TRAVELLING.

Our informant was accompanied in his travels by two Indians, one of whom carried the birch canoe, bottom up, upon his head, the edges of the canoe resting upon his shoulders, with a band over his forehead, much after the same manner as fisher-women carry their creels, and the other carrying in the same manner, valises, blankets, &c., piled up to a wonderful extent and very heavy. At night, the Indians stuck four poles into the ground, crossed two together at each end, placed a pole across the top over which a tarpaulin was spread out, and kept down with stones upon the ground, the inside of the tent thus made being comfortably and carefully strewn with leaves or small branches of trees, while the traveller fished for the supper of the whole party. In Kinogomi there are smelts ; pike four feet in length ; and trout in abundance.

#### THE TRIBUTARIES OF LAKE ST. JOHN.

We have already alluded to Kuspaganish Point, and travelling from left to right round the Lake, we may explain that Kuspagan is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Kuspaganish, which is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Hudson's Bay Post at St. Jean, and situated on the Metabetchuan River, 12 miles further west of which is Pointe

Blue, 3 miles beyond which is Ouiatshuan River,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  additional miles bringing the traveller to Ouiatshuanish river, where a Mr. Hudon has planted a colony consisting of 7 or 8 habitants, and two mills, the one a grist and the other a saw mill. Still further on is the Shupnashuan river and point, a very short distance from which is—

#### THE EXTRAORDINARY RIVER PERIKOBA.

The Perikoba is one of the most extraordinary rivers on this continent. At its mouth there are a multitude of islands; for thirty miles its depth is equal to that of the Saguenay; and its shores though not quite so high as some parts of the Saguenay, are extraordinarily high and beautifully wooded.

#### THE SAGUENAY.

These great waters all flow into the Saguenay, and it is therefore no wonder that the latter has overflowed into the St. Lawrence.

CHARACTER OF THE SAGUENAY COUNTRY AS DESCRIBED  
BY ALEXANDER RUSSELL, ESQUIRE, OF THE CROWN  
LANDS DEPARTMENT.

*From the Quebec Observer, October 10th, 1854.*

Notwithstanding its rocky and mountainous character, the inner Saguenay country contains much good land well adapted for settlement; and the formation of the country, and the peculiar character and distribution of that proportion of the land which is good, are such as to give it almost the greatest possible value its extent admits, so as to compensate in a great degree, in this manner, and by the extreme

richness of soil, for the difference there may be in climate compared with warmer parts of the Province.

The good land, as far as I had the opportunity of observing, occurs in blocks sufficiently large to make extensive and at the same time compact settlements; which for the purpose of organization for religious, educational and other social objects, and for the maintenance of roads, present advantages that can never be enjoyed in localities where the land fit for cultivation is scattered in small fragments. Not only does the arable land occur in large blocks, but it is thoroughly good, with very little exception, and entirely free from stones, which greatly diminishes the labor and consequently increases the profit of cultivation. Even in the vicinity of Grand Baie, where the country begins to be fit for cultivation, this characteristic is strikingly noticeable. On the summits and steep slopes of the lofty and broken bluffs, several hundreds of feet in height, where the high plateau behind breaks down to the River St. John, the soil is deep, fertile, loam.

With the exception of the Grand Brulé (where the soil is sandy) the land continues of a similar character, back to the rocky hills near the post of Lake Kenogami. Through from Grand Baie to Chicoutimi it is at least equally fertile; and though, near the bay, it is broken into romantic irregularity, the intensity of the vegetation bears witness to the rankness of the soil.

Behind Chicoutimi, where the plateau has an elevation of about three hundred feet, the land for the distance of eight miles towards Lake Kenoga-

mi is exceedingly fertile, even and arable,—equal in quality to the best land that can be found in any part of the province. Near Lake Kenogami it suddenly changes in character. Barren and rocky hills encompass the Lake, with the exception of one fine tract of four miles in length near the head of it, on the north side, along the River Casconia.

From the head of Lake Kenogami, traversing the valley of the Rivière des Au'nets, and that of Belle Rivière, into which it falls, to the shore of Lake St. John, there is a tract of eighteen miles in length, with a variable width, the soil of which is generally exceedingly fertile and free from stones; all of a deep alluvial formation—presenting itself at the commencement as a high plateau with deep water courses, and terminating on the shore of the Lake, in extensive flats subject to inundation in the spring, which, though partly unfit for growing grain on these accounts, will yield continually heavy crops of hay.

Following the shore of the Lake, at three miles, a little beyond the mouth of the Kushpaganish, the land rises gently in fertile slopes, and the shore becomes a terrace, of about fifty feet in height, with a rich soil free from stones.

Three miles further at the mouth of the Metabetchouan, (the most beautiful spot probably in the Province,) the mountains approach to within half a league of the shore, which becomes less favorable for settlement; but, from high grounds rising from the east shore of the Lake, there can be seen, far in the distance, beyond Metabetchouan, a beautiful tract of gently sloping land richly wooded, project-



ing into the Lake, apparently about nine miles in length and breadth, which those who have visited it describe as very arable rich land.

Of the country on the northern shore of the Lake I am unable to express an opinion, not having visited it; nor could I obtain any distinct information respecting it. It is evident, however, that it must be a comparatively low and level country for a great distance back from the shore. Looking over the Lake from high grounds on the south-east shore, no land on the other side is visible; but if there were mountains within twenty miles of the shore, or hills at half the distance, they would be distinctly seen. We are obliged to believe, however, that there must be a region of stratified limestone, and consequently good land, in that direction, to some considerable extent: for where the waters of the Lake have cut the high alluvial banks on its south-east shore, their bases exhibit a mass of water, borne fragments of rocks and stones, chiefly stratified limestone, and the beach is covered with them. As they cannot have been brought from the elevated ranges of primitive formation to the south-east, we must look for their original site to the north and west; and it is difficult to say how important the result might be of a geological investigation prosecuted in that almost unknown region.

My examination of the interior was limited to an excursion of about ninety miles, of which the proportion of land fit for settlement, is I think sufficient to form six parishes. As it might seem presumptuous to express an opinion on an examination so limited, I beg to explain that it was performed

with the greatest care. It may be unnecessary to say that Mr. Ballantyne, who surveyed the greater part of the townships in the Saguenay Territory, has had opportunities of forming an opinion much superior to mine.

Not having made any exploration on the north-east side of the Saguenay, I can express no opinion of the country behind the front settlements on that side. A very commanding view of it can be obtained from the high grounds behind Chicoutimi, embracing a great portion of the east end of the great basin of the inner Saguenay, in the centre of which Lake St. John is situated. Far to the right and left, and far to the north-east is seen stretching an extensive undulating or hilly plateau, apparently from four to seven hundred feet in height, presenting in many places indications of good land, such as is said to be found there in considerable tracts, and behind rises the vast range of the St. Marguerite Mountains; like a gigantic wall; apparently thirty miles distant, and three thousand feet in height.

From the best information I could obtain, combined with personal observation, I am led to believe that a proportion, equal on an average to one third part on the surveyed townships, is good arable land; and when the prevailing richness of the arable, and its freeness from stones, are taken into consideration, practical men will at once see that the value of that proportion of the land which is arable, is much greater than it would be were the soil as poor and stoney as in several parts of the Lower Province already settled or being so. In some of the

back concessions of the parishes below Quebec, much valuable labor is lost in improving land (inferior in richness to that of the Saguenay country) owing to the quantity of stones to be removed, and that afterwards occupy part of the land in heaps.

When it is considered that these localities have no advantage in climate over the inner Saguenay, the superiority of the latter, as a site for settlement, will present itself more as a self-evident fact than a subject of opinion. In respect of freeness from stones, the land fit for cultivation, of the inner Saguenay, has decidedly the advantage over a great part of the District of Quebec and the Eastern Townships, the settlements in some parts north of Montreal, and much of the Ottawa country.

With ordinary cultivation on good land, in the Township of Chicoutimi, as much as sixteen and a half bushels to one sown of wheat, has been obtained, thirty to one of barley, and from eighteen to twenty-five to one, of oats; showing two bushels of the latter to the acre and one of the former. Wheat crops have sometimes failed with some of the settlers, but only when too late sown; wheat having been sown sometimes as late as the end of June, by settlers late with their work.

The climate admits of sowing being sufficiently early. In the new settlements, in the Township of Labarre, wheat sowing began in 1851 on the 8th of May, in 1852 on the 4th, and in 1853 on the 7th of that month. Lying in the same latitude as the thriving settlement of the County of Rimouski, where grain of all kinds is successfully cultivated, the climate of the inner Saguenay could not be supposed to be less favourable.

Compared with the exterior settlements of the County of Saguenay, on the St. Lawrence, the climate of the inner Saguenay country is no doubt superior, as the testimony of intelligent persons and careful observations taken of the temperature indicate. This difference can be explained by a little consideration of the formation of the country, with the assistance of the recognized principles of physical geography.

The settlements in parts of the parishes of Les Eboulements, Chemin du Caps, &c., are twelve hundred feet above the level of the St. Lawrence. In this country four hundred and fifty feet of elevation is equal to a degree of northing in latitude. The plateau of Chicoutimi is one degree north of Les Eboulements, but it has nine hundred feet less of elevation above the sea, which being equal to two degrees of southing in latitude gives it an advantage in climate over Les Eboulements equal to one degree of latitude. The flat lands around Lake St. John are lower than the plateau of Chicoutimi, and the influence which that great body of water must have in keeping off late and early frosts, and moderating the coldness of the climate, is too evident to persons of experience to need remark; and accounts for the climate being said to be milder there than at Chicoutimi. The great elevation of the regions that surround the basin of the inner Saguenay, must by enhancing its depression, increase the warmth of the valley.

Such a great valley presenting so much alluvial soil, with the features of nature arranged as much as possible in its favor with the vast basin of the

Saguenay as a stupendous ship canal, penetrating fairly into it through the broad barrier of mountain country, cannot remain long unimportant.

I intended to have said something of the extraordinary suitability of the Saguenay country for the growth of flax and hemp, and the advantage of prosecuting it now that improvements in manufacture have increased the value of the former, and foreign war that of the latter, and of the employment in winter which their preparation might afford: and also, of the superiority of the Saguenay as a hay growing country, and how advantageous the settlement of it would be for the supplying of beef cattle for the shipping and emigrants arriving in Quebec, and its inhabitants, now that the supply formerly derived from the Eastern Townships is drawn away to other markets.

Had I not already trespassed so far on your attention, and were it not exceeding the subject referred to me, I might have stated the advantages of a railroad, in connecting important localities, where the intervention of an extensive barren region precludes the possibility of forming such intermediate settlement as would be necessary for the maintenance of communication by a common road; and I might also have pointed out the certainty of a railroad being required to the inner Saguenay, as soon as the population there increases as much in proportion as it has done during the last ten years.

By the most moderate estimates the inner Saguenay Territory contains more land fit for cultivation than there is in the kingdom of Norway, which has a population of upwards of twelve hundred thousand

souls; and lest the comparison with Norway should seem to imply anything disadvantageous with reference to the Saguenay, it may be necessary to add that the Norwegian peasantry are much better educated, and live far more independently, and are richer in property than the majority of agricultural laborers in Great Britain.

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